COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

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COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

VOLUME VI FALL 1954 NUMBER 4

PUTTENHAM AND THE ORIENTAL PATTERN-POEM

A. L. KORN

PATTERN-POETRY, the varying line lengths of which form a consciously chosen shape or design, may be said to resemble the legendary phoenix of the East. Although sometimes moribund for centuries, the genre has always stirred in its ancient ashes and managed to rise again. Shaped poems first appeared during late antiquity in the writings of the Greek bucolic poets, notably in the egg, axe, and wing patterns of Simias of Rhodes (300 B.C.). Since the Alexandrian period a succession of poets, with a few famous names scattered among them, has carried on the tradition by imitating usually one or another of the earlier models.

The periods of relative rise-and decline in the history of the genre may be suggested by the following panoramic catalogue of some outstanding practitioners: Porfirius Optantius, under Constantine the Great; Rabanus Maurus and Alcuin, during the Carolingian revival; Rabelais, in whose posthumous fifth book appear some goliardic verses in the shape of a bottle; various Italian and French humanists, who borrowed their figures from the widely circulated Planudean Anthology; and their immediate successors in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as George Herbert and Francis Quarles, whose poetry as a whole may be profitably studied as part of the European vogue for emblem-writing. That pattern-poetry is still indestructible and not merely a literary dodo has been proved in our own century by the modernistic innovations of Guillaume Apollinaire and the highly traditional fusions of thought and design in the work of the Welshman Dylan Thomas.

And we have come
To know all
Places
Ways
Mazes
Passages
Quarters and graves
Of the endless fall.

A special case, an anomaly in fact, in the Renaissance development of *poemata figurata* is the work of the sixteenth-century critic George Puttenham, who has been generally accepted as the author of a valuable Elizabethan treatise on poetry, *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589). In his chapter "Of Proportion in figure," Puttenham presents to his Elizabethan audience a collection of four Oriental or pseudo-Oriental pattern-poems which he claims to have translated from an unnamed Eastern language.[1] A curiosity of Puttenham's discourse is that with the exception of the egg pattern, which he wrongly attributes to Anacreon, this otherwise erudite author gives the impression of having known almost nothing at all of the earlier pattern-poems composed by his numerous European predecessors. Puttenham's role as the naive discoverer of an Oriental type of pattern-poetry, a literary genre he believed to be alien to the European poetic tradition, has therefore a certain historic interest. In *The Arte of English Poesie* we find perhaps for the first time an English critic drawing upon Eastern materials, or what he conceives to be such, in the routine practice of his profession.

Puttenham's four poems form a kind of lyric sequence representing, as the critic explains in his gloss, the amorous effusions of two pairs of Oriental lovers. A "Lozange called Rombus" is addressed by "the Lady *Kermesine*" to "a great Emperor in Tartary whom they call *Can*, for his good fortune in the wars & notable conquests he had made . . . surnamed *Temir Cutzclewe*." The second poem, "in Fuzie or spindle," is the reply of that dignitary to his aristocratic admirer. The remaining pair, triangles or "triquets," are similar in basic principle of arrangement and erotic theme. Their authors are described as "a certaine great Sultan of Persia called *Ribuska*" and "the Lady *Selamour*." According to Puttenham, the verses in their original form were "bestowed" upon him in Italy (can he mean dictated to him?) by "a certaine gentleman, who had long travailed the Orientall parts of the world, and seene the Courts of the great Princes of China and Tartarie."[2]

Since the sixteenth century, Puttenham's gentleman from Tartary has lost much of that weight of authority which this somewhat dim

[1] *The Arte of English Poesie*, ed. Gladys Willcock and Alice Walker (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 94-95; referred to hereafter as Puttenham.
[2] Puttenham, pp. 91, 93.

figure would have exerted over an Elizabethan reader. Yet the shapes and patterns of Puttenham's verses, however he may have come by them, have persuaded several modern scholars that his poems are related to obscure Eastern prototypes. Puttenham's latest editors tell us that his patterns "are mathematical and . . . pure form. Like the arabesque, they are of Oriental origin."[3] Two further studies propose divergent theories concerning the particular country and literary tradition to which the poems may be related. In his dissertation on "China in the Literature of the Seventeenth Century," Mr. Chung-shu Ch'ien says that Puttenham's poems correspond to the elaborate shaped verses and "games of words" found in traditional Chinese poetry.[4] An alternative theory, presented by Professor Margaret Church in an article on the first English pattern-poems, suggests that Puttenham's patterns derive from the intricate prosodic and rhetorical conventions of Persian poetry. For her chief evidence Professor Church cites E. G. Browne's *A Literary History of Persia,* a standard work in its field. In order to convey to his reader a notion of various rhetorical devices employed by many Persian poets, Browne frequently illustrates these devices by noting their counterpart in Puttenham's treatise: thus, *Epizeuxis* (Puttenham's "Underlay" or "Cuckoo-spell") corresponds to a rhetorical figure the name of which in Persian means "the throwing back of the last word in the verse."[5] "If an authority on Oriental literature agrees to the Oriental character of Puttenham's conceits," concludes Professor Church, "it would seem extremely probable that his shaped verses were Oriental in origin."[6]

A limitation in Professor Church's interesting theory is that it rests largely on inference and never really establishes the existence of an Oriental type of pattern-poetry. Yet that such a genre existed we know from accounts of both Turkish and Persian pattern-poetry contained in the work of several pioneer Orientalists of the nineteenth century who preceded Browne. On the basis of this evidence at least one fact can be substantiated. When Puttenham published his verses in the 1580s an Oriental type of pattern-poetry undoubtedly existed. Quite possibly hearsay describing it might have reached artistic circles in Italy, and it is no less possible that word of such poetry might have made its way eventually to English shores. However, Professor

[3] Puttenham, p. lvii.

[4] *Quarterly Bulletin of Chinese Bibliography* (Kunming, Yunnan, China), I, No. 4 (Dec. 1940), 355-356. Mr. Ch'ien regards Puttenham's account of his verses as "positively the earliest mention of Chinese literature in an English book, or perhaps in any European work." William W. Appleton, *A Cycle of Cathay* (New York, 1951), p. 18, accepts the view that Puttenham's traveler provided him with "some curious insights into Chinese poetry."

[5] E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia: From Firdawsi to Sa'di* (London, 1906), p. 60; for further examples see Browne's index, "Puttenham, G."

[6] "The First English Pattern Poems," *PMLA,* LXI (1946), 648.

Church's belief that Puttenham's work represents "the first direct contact [with Oriental patterns] since the original impetus from the East in the time of Simias of Rhodes" raises a number of puzzling problems.[7] Can knowledge-by-hearsay be strictly described as a direct contact? Likewise, when the subject of hearsay is certain graphic and visual patterns, is there any sure knowledge of these patterns except through the immediate experience of the eye? Significantly, Puttenham nowhere claims that he has seen any Oriental shaped verses at first hand. He merely says that he has heard report of them from an Italian gentleman to whom he is indebted for the four poems printed in his book. I single out these distinctions and others like them because they seem to me fundamental in understanding the relationship of Puttenham's novelties, his triquets and fuzies, to their possible Oriental analogues.

Beginning in the 1820s the German poet Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866), who was also a distinguished Orientalist, published a series of pioneer studies of the language and style of Persian poetry, and included several transcriptions and translations of Persian pattern-poems.[8] Taken from an important treatise on poetry called the *Haft Qulzum* (Seven Seas), by Ghazi-al-Din Haidar, the poems are of various shapes and designs—a wheel, a tree, a square—and resemble, but with notable differences, the pattern-poetry in vogue during the Renaissance. So far as I have been able to learn, Rückert was the first European to call the attention of modern scholars to an Oriental type of *Figurengedichte*.[9]

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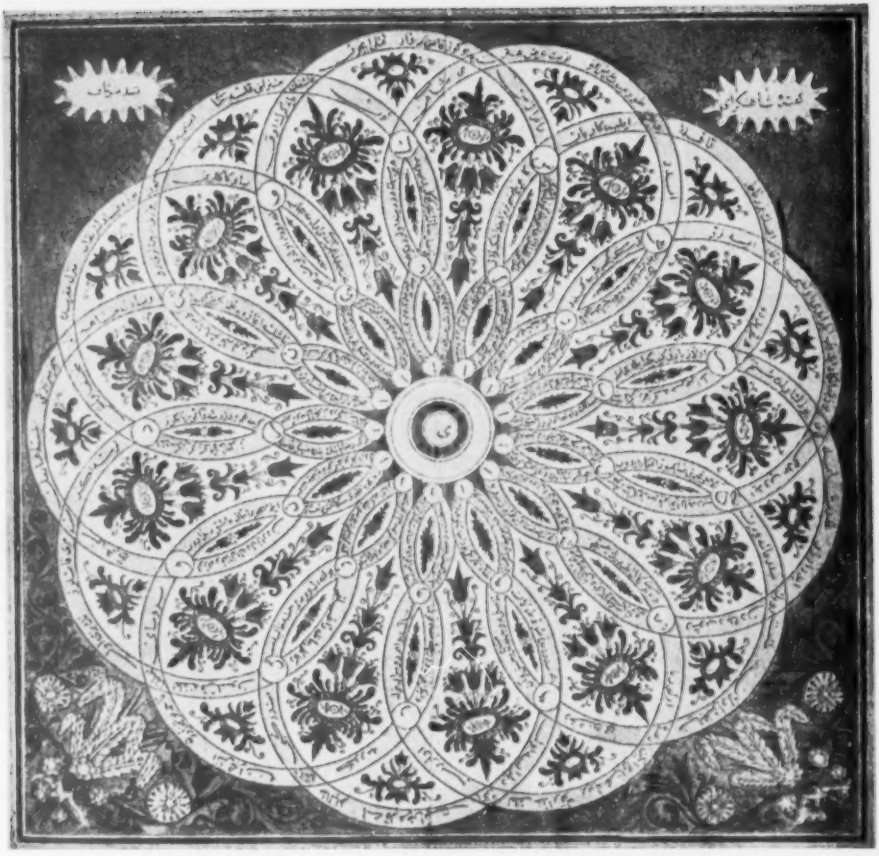
[7] Church, p. 648. The theory that ancient pattern-poems (*technopaegnia*) are Oriental in origin has been questioned by modern scholars. Ernst Robert Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern, 1948), pp. 285-286, suggests that Persian pattern-poems are a parallel development along with their mediaeval and Renaissance counterpart of common sources in Hellenism. This view is in accord with recent scholarship, which has pointed out numerous examples of the survival of classical traditions in Arabic and Persian literature; see Gustave E. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam* (Chicago, 1946), pp. 294-295.

[8] The poems, a *mushajjar* ("tree-shaped"), *murabba'* ("square"), and *mudawwar* ("circular"), may be studied in Rückert's *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser* (2nd ed., Gotha, 1874), pp. 154, 161, 184. Rückert's source, the *Haft Qulzum*, was compiled in A.H. 1230 (A.D. 1814-1815) by Ghazi-al-Din Haidar (d. A.D. 1828-1829), the second son of Sa'adat 'Ali, ruler of Oudh; see M. Longworth Dames' article under "Ghazi-al-Din" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (London, 1938), who notes that the authorship of the *Haft Qulzum* has been questioned by H. Ethé, *Grundriß der iranischen Philologie*, II, 265, 348. Copies of the *Haft Qulzum* appear to be rare. At least I know of none in any of the major American collections of Islamic books and manuscripts; but I am informed that the British Museum possesses two editons of the *Haft Qulzum*, the better of which was printed at Lucknow in 1822.

I wish here to express my thanks for various suggestions in matters of bibliographical and linguistic detail to Professor Gustave E. von Grunebaum of the University of Chicago, Dr. Richard Ettinghausen of the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Mr. Robert F. Ogden of the Library of Congress, Mr. J. Leveen of the British Museum, Professor John D. Yohannan of the City College, New York, Professor Francis W. Cleaves of Harvard University, and Professor A. J. Arberry of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

[9] The genre is also discussed, but only briefly and with no illustrative examples,



A CIRCULAR GHAZAL BY SHAHIN GIRAY

Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Chane der Krim*

In 1856 Baron Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, who had been Rückert's teacher, introduced into his history of the khans of the Crimea an account of one Shahin Giray, Khan of the Crimea during the later eighteenth century and like earlier rulers of the courts and khanates under Ottoman dominion something of an aesthete and poet. His specialty, it seems, was verses modeled on the patterns of traditional Persian and Turkish poems similar to those described by Rückert. A striking feature of Hammer-Purgstall's volume was its photographic reproduction of one of Shahin Giray's most remarkable creations. This was a circular ghazal so intricate in its arrangement that it aroused the interest of other Orientalists both on the continent and in England.[10] During the 1880s this same belated and rather decadent version of an ancient Eastern art was brought into wider notice when it was featured, though in the form of a highly simplified diagram, as an illuminated frontispiece in E. J. W. Gibb's *Ottoman Poetry Translated into English in the Original Forms*.[11] Unfortunately, in his commentary on the poem Gibb did not choose to discuss certain of its graphic features, such as its medallionlike design and illuminated background, but instead confined himself to remarks on the verses as a linguistic *tour de force*. Thus, as in earlier poems in Turkish or Persian, the verses are arranged according to a system resembling acrostics, but one which is so involved that the circular ghazal of Shahin Giray defies translation into any European language.[12] The most helpful part of Gibb's

in Paul Horn, *Geschichte der persischen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1901), p. 54. Prose texts in various shapes—mosques, birds, flags, apples, and even a verse of the Koran in the shape of a dervish's cap—have long been a form of popular art in Turkey; see Celal Asad Arseven, *L'Art turc depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours* (Istanbul, 1939), pp. 245-246, and A. Coomaraswami, "Arabic and Turkish Calligraphy," *Boston Museum Bulletin*, XVII (1929). 50-57. However, such *images populaires* should be distinguished from the pattern-poem as such, which was of courtly provenance.

[10] *Geschichte der Chane der Krim unter osmanischer Herrschaft* (Vienna, 1856); the reproduction accompanies Hammer-Purgstall's commentary, pp. 251-253. A transcription of the ghazal also appears in James A. Redhouse, "A Turkish Circle Ode, by Shahin Ghiray," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London, 1861), N. S., XVIII, 400-415.

[11] London and Glasgow, 1882. This work was reissued, but unfortunately without the frontispiece reproduction, under the title *Ottoman Literature: The Poets and Poetry of Turkey* (Washington and London, 1901); my page references are to the latter volume.

[12] See Gibb's note accompanying the frontispiece of the 1882 edition, based on Redhouse, p. 400: "The letter at the centre is the first and last letter of every distich; the letters in the radii are the penultimates of each distich, and read inversely, follow the initial in the next succeeding distich. The words in the intersectional compartments are common to each of the intersecting verses. The ode begins and ends at the centre, through the radius which points directly upward." A paraphrase of the sense of Shahin Giray's poem appears on pp. 162-163 of the second edition of Gibb's anthology.

discussion is his generalization on Persian and Turkish pattern-poetry as a distinct and quite static genre, practiced throughout many parts of Persia and the Turkish Empire for centuries.

> Authors sometimes display their ingenuity by writing poems (which partake of the nature of acrostics) in the form of wheels, trees, squares, etc., the initials of all the verses of which spring from a common centre. When round they are called *mudevver*, "circular"; when tree-shaped, *musejjer*, "arboriform"; when square, *murebba'*. Of course these poems cannot be reproduced in a translation.[13]

The reader who has examined Puttenham's lozenges and triquets will notice at once a signal difference between them and their possible Persian or Turkish prototypes. Apparently, by the time hearsay regarding such poetry may have reached Puttenham's ears, all vestiges of the most intricate and inimitable feature of the genre—the method similar to acrostics, as when the verses radiate from a common central initial—had vanished in the process of oral transmission. The reason for such a loss is easily imaginable if we assume that the poems Puttenham brought from Italy to England were "bestowed" upon him by word of mouth. An acrosticlike arrangement, like graphic design in general, does not lend itself readily to oral transmission.

This is only to say that all poems in any language "begin" orally with their first uttered word. It is only if the poem is put into written form, printed, or presented in some other graphic medium that the same single initial letter or word can function simultaneously (or equivocally) in a series of visual contexts of meaning. Likewise, only in graphic presentation can a beginning letter or word be disposed in a novel manner so as to become part of a larger visual unity—a decorative pattern. In this basic respect Puttenham's four exotic verses are in complete accord with Occidental rather than Persian or Turkish tradition. By the same token, Puttenham's verses are similar in their general method of arrangement to the majority of Renaissance shaped poems.[14] Following the normal conventions of European handwriting and print, Puttenham's first words stand at the top of his poems, which are to be read in the usual manner, as in Temir Cutzclewe's reply to the Lady Kermesine "in Fuzie":[15]

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[13] Gibb, p. 24.

[14] Puttenham's "Pillar" and "Spire," pp. 95-97, which "ye must read upward," are exceptions. These two poems together with his "Circle," none of which Puttenham claims to have received from the traveler in Italy, have been discussed by Catherine Ing, *Elizabethan Lyrics* (London, 1951), pp. 89-96, who gives an excellent account of Puttenham's general theory and practice of shaped poetry. She does not, however, take up the exotic poems as such nor attempt to deal with the mystery of their origin.

[15] Puttenham, p. 94. The poem is here reprinted in facsimile from the Willcock-Walker edition, with the permission of the Cambridge University Press.

Fiue
Sore batailes
Manfully fought
In blouddy fielde
With bright blade in hand
Hath Temir won & forft to yeld
Many a Captaine ftrong and ftoute
And many a king his Crowne to vayle,
Conquering large countreys and land,
Yet ne uer wanne I vi ctо riz,
I fpeake it to my greate glo rit,
So deare and ioy full vn to me,
As when I did firft con quere thee
O Kerme fune, of all myne foes
The moft cruell, of all myne woes
The fmarteft, the fweeteft
My proude Con queft
My ri cheft pray
O once a daye
Lend me thy fight
Whofe only light
Keepes me
Aliue.

But there is a second and more noteworthy difference between Puttenham's creations and verses arranged in the authentic Turkish or Persian manner. Although for descriptive purposes it is useful to classify certain of the Eastern patterns in terms of geometry as squares, circles, triangles, etc., their resemblance to rigid geometrical diagrams is not the predominant impression they convey as specimens of graphic art. If we may judge by the work of Shahin Giray, the Turkish or Persian poems appear to derive their decorative motifs not from ready-made diagrams but rather from analogous patterns existing in other Eastern art forms. Their counterpart, in fact, is to be found in that rich use of calligraphic ornament employed in so much of Islamic art, in the carvings of the façades and minarets of mosques, in stucco decoration, in the patterns of Near Eastern faïence, and in the medallions and shields displayed on the covers or in the frontispieces of Persian and Turkish books.[16] In all these varied art forms geometric elements

[16] The circular ghazal of Shahin Giray resembles the multifarious "roundel" designs found in the frontispieces of numerous Persian books dating from the fourteenth-sixteenth centuries; for example, see *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*, ed. Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman, V (London and New York, 1938), Pl. 946 B: Roundel on opening page of Qu'ran, written in Maragha, in April 1338; Chester Beatty Collection. Limitations of space prevent me from giving a full list of sources on Islamic art consulted in preparing this article. My chief indebtedness is to the following: *A Survey of Persian Art*, II (1939), "Calligraphy and Epigraphy," 1707-1807, and also III (1939), "Manuscript Illumination," by Dr. Richard Ettinghausen, 1937-1974; Ernest Kühnel, "Islamismo; Decorazione," *Enciclopedia Italiana*, XIX, 617-622; Eric Schroeder, *Iranian Book Painting* (New York, 1940); F. P. T. Sarre, *Islamic Book Bindings* (London, 1923); Armenag Bey Sakisian, *La Miniature persane du XII^e au XVII^e siècle* (Paris and Brussels, 1929); Celal Asad Arseven, *L'Art turc depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours* (Istanbul, 1939); and various articles in *Ars Islamica* and *Byzantion*.

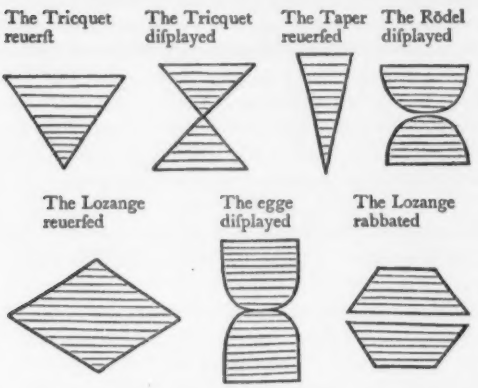
are very common, especially during certain periods and in the work of a particular region or school. But it is also true that these elements are frequently modified by other demands, especially by the artist's choice of his medium—by the use of color and illumination, for example, in the art of the book. What is exceedingly common is to find a fusion of geometrical motifs with figures of a more free and rhythmic kind, particularly in all types of decoration involving calligraphy. Such designs are often characterized by an "inner movement," which is yet restrained and held within limits by the geometric frame.

Persian pattern-poems (and the same would hold true of Turkish) are thus a mingling of several distinct arts and their peculiar techniques. The poems owe their appeal to the eye as much to the cunning of the calligrapher and his tricks of arrangement as to the art of the versifier himself. Unlike the Greek and Latin *technopaegnia,* in which the length of the lines has been varied to accommodate the poem to the required shape, in the Oriental poems the lines are all of the same length and meter; they are merely arranged in a pattern by the scribe. The calligrapher, of course, must have heeded the intention of the poet, while the latter would have been concerned to some degree to render the pattern arrangement convenient and feasible. But in any event the "materials" of the Oriental pattern-poem are only partly verbal meanings or metrical and prosodic schemes. Instead, such materials become part of a unifying visual construct—a "jewel"—deriving much of its total effect from the art of the calligrapher and illuminator.[17]

As a glance at Puttenham's treatise will show, his own shaped verses are based on a highly schematic and rule-of-thumb sense of design. Thus, at the opening of his chapter "On Proportion in figure," Puttenham sets forth as "the formes of your Geometricall figures" a total of fifteen labelled diagrams, mainly quadrangular, triangular, ovoid, or circular figures and their variations.[18] Puttenham's editors have remarked that these bare enough configurations must be considered as "pure form" and as Eastern in origin. Yet there is ample reason to believe that Puttenham's preoccupation with geometrical patterns was an almost predestined expression of his own immediate intellectual background.

[17] The nineteenth-century scholars mentioned earlier in this study, Rückert, Hammer-Purgstall, Redhouse, Horn, and Gibb, made no attempt to relate Persian or Turkish pattern-poetry to the broad tradition of Islamic decoration. On the other hand, I can find no published study by a modern specialist in the history of Near Eastern art of Persian or Turkish verse-forms *per se* (as distinct from calligraphic ornament) used as decorative materials. My generalizations, therefore, are intended only as an hypothesis; their verification or correction must await the findings of future scholarship.

[18] Puttenham, pp. 92-93. The diagrams which appear on p. 297 are reprinted in facsimile from the Willcock-Walker edition, with the permission of the Cambridge University Press.



It is well to note that Puttenham's systematic use of geometrical forms in this chapter is entirely in accord with the doctrine of proportion expounded at the beginning of Book II of his treatise, "Of Proportion Poetical." The historical roots of this doctrine, its Renaissance, mediaeval, and ancient sources, need not for the present concern us in detail. It is apparent, however, that the basis of this entire portion of Puttenham's argument is the familiar notion of the divine harmony and the traditional distinction, stemming from Pythagorean and Neoplatonic sources, of three types of "conveniencie by relation" (i.e., proportion)—the arithmetical, the geometrical, and the musical.

It is said by such as professe the Mathematicall sciences, that all things stand by proportion, and that without it nothing could stand to be good or beautiful. The Doctors of our Theologie to the same effect, but in other termes, say: that God made the world by number, measure and weight; some for weight say tune, and peradventure better.[19]

[19] Puttenham, p. 64. Catherine Ing, *Elizabethan Lyrics*, pp. 42-55, 89-96, discusses in detail the application of the doctrine to Puttenham's conception of "ocular representation" in poetry. The doctrine, of course, has many ramifications in Renaissance thought; see Fabio Conforto et al., "Proporzione," *Enciclopedia Italiana*, XXVIII, 328-331. A brief account of the mediaeval "culte de proportion" appears in Edgar de Bruyne, *L'Esthétique du moyen âge* (Louvain, 1947), pp. 23-25; for a full discussion of the early development, especially in Boethius, see also De Bruyne, *Etudes d'esthétique médiévale* (Bruges, 1946), I, 10 ff., 30 ff., and for later development through the thirteenth century, II and III *passim*. The doctrine is considered in relation to Renaissance "meta-mathematics" in Edward W. Strong, *Mathematics and Procedures: A Study in the Philosophy of Mathematical-Physical Science in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Berkeley, 1936), pp. 85-90 and *passim*; and also, in relation to Renaissance art, in Federigo Enriques, "Matematica: matematiche e arte," *Enciclopedia Italiana*, XXII, 551-552. Sir Kenneth Clarke in his *Leonardo da Vinci* (2nd ed., Cambridge, 1952), pp. 72-74, 100-101, has examind the influence of the doctrine on the development of Leonardo, who contributed various illustrations, including figures of solid

In fact, the close relationship between Puttenham's basic aesthetic doctrine and his exotic verses suggests that the verses illustrate exactly what the critic tells us they do. They are "the formes of your Geometricall figures" and look as if they might have been inspired by some sixteenth-century school text on geometry.[20] This rather mundane explanation of Puttenham's figures does not rule out the possibility that through travelers' hearsay or by some other obscure channel the Elizabethan might have learned of an Eastern type of pattern-poetry. The explanation does, however, imply that Puttenham's understanding of whatever he heard was deeply colored, and in that sense predetermined, by the sixteenth-century cult of proportion and his own Elizabethan version of the *esprit géométrique*.

To account for Puttenham's interest in geometrical figures we need only examine Book II of his treatise, "Of Proportion Poetical," and consider for a moment its complicated textual history. Puttenham's editors have pointed out that the critic composed the main parts of his Book II a number of years before the amplified and completed work was finally published in 1589. But the volume as we know it also contains islands or strata representing some of the later interests of the critic, among them his experiments with pattern-poetry.

The original Book II seems to have ended with Ch. xi ["Of Proportion by Situation"]. The last paragraph opens with "To finish the learning of this division" and concludes with three forcible repetitive sentences. Anyone who has absorbed Puttenham's style (or happy lack of it) will recognize that no mere stylistic consideration prompts this repetition. We find it because he is clinching his subject and dismissing his book. Ch. xi, however, is less than half way through the present Book II. It is followed by a series of sections fire-new from the mint of the mid- and latter-eighties. They are concerned with "courtly trifles" (shaped poems, *imprese*, anagrams) or "scholastical toyes" (classical numbers in English verse).[21]

In my opinion the textual history of Book II helps to explain not only Puttenham's theory of shaped poems but also his critical strategy as their sponsor. What appears to have happened is approximately this. In his introductory chapter to Book II, "Of Proportion Poetical,"

geometry, to the celebrated *Divina Proportione* (Venice, 1509) of Luca Pacioli, a leading mathematician of the time. *A locus classicus* as a reference to the symbolism of geometrical figures appears in *The Faerie Queene*, Book II, Canto 9, stanza 22; for scholarship on the passage see *The Faerie Queene*, Book II, Appendix XI, pp. 472-485, in *The Works of Edmund Spenser*, ed. Greenlaw, Osgood, and Padelford (Baltimore, 1933).

[20] For the names of his diagrams Puttenham seems to have drawn upon various sources, including geometry, heraldry, and common speech. "Spindle," for example, like "fuzie" has both a geometrical and heraldic application; see *O.E.D.*, "Spindle," sb. 1.4.a; II. 8.b. "Triquet" appears to derive from heraldry; see *O.E.D.*, "Triquet," sb. and a., and "Triquetra." "Pyramis" occurs in geometry texts of the period; see *O.E.D.*, "Pyramid," sb. B.2; 1570, Billingsley, *Euclid*, II. def. x. 314, "A Pyramis is a solide figure contained under many playne superficieces set upon one playne superficies, and gathered together to one point." Puttenham's use of geometrical terms is of course loosely descriptive and in no way strictly mathematical.

[21] Puttenham, p. xlviii.

Puttenham had defined his topic and explained the philosophico-literary basis of the argument to follow. His original plan had been to consider *all* poetry as an example of musical proportion.

> Hereupon it seemeth the Philosopher gathers a triple proportion, to wit, the Arithmeticall, the Geometricall, and the Musical. *And by one of these three is every other proportion guided of the things that have conveniencie by relation...* Of all of which we leave to speak, returning to our poeticall proportion, which holdeth of the Musical...[22]

But in the 1580s, when he was about to add his new chapter on shaped poems, Puttenham found himself faced with a fresh problem in poetic theory. How should he relate this novel kind of poetry resting on "figure" and "ocular representation" to the original doctrine of proportion expounded in his opening chapter? With all his earlier logic pointing the way, the answer was virtually foreordained. Although all of the preceding chapters dealing with "Staffe, Measure, Concord, Situation" are an application of the theory of musical proportion, the new chapter marks an abrupt change of focus. As we should expect, the shift is from the musical type of proportion to that second category named by "the Philosopher"—the geometrical.

The reader unconcerned with Puttenham's underlying doctrinal assumptions will hardly notice the change I have indicated in his critical perspective. Once observed, however, this deviation of plan makes it evident that Puttenham's general treatment of pattern-poetry, including his illustrative examples, fell ultimately under the domination of his preconceived aesthetic theory. Apparently, in his attempt to describe a type of Eastern "proportion in figure" which he knew only at second hand, he was able to grasp for his purposes only those principles of design readily transferable to his own idiom. Had not the best authorities pronounced such principles to be part of the universal plan? And would not these same principles apply anywhere in the order and harmony of creation? Then surely, if "all things stand to be good or beautiful" by proportion, geometry must provide the link uniting the Sultan of Persia and his triquet with "our poeticall proportion, which holdeth of the Musical."

By some such chain of deduction, I suspect, Puttenham's treatment of figured verse came to rest finally on a system of graphic conventions taken from geometry. Because of the universality of his terms and his reliance on "abstract" geometric archetypes, it is by no means easy to discern what formal feature of his verses may be attributed with any certainty to a specific Eastern influence. Yet there is little doubt concerning the main question. Whatever Puttenham's knowledge of Eastern patterns may have been, it was confined to features requiring a minimum of insight into the Oriental poet's working materials and calligraphic techniques.

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[22] Puttenham, p. 64; italics mine.

The conclusion that Puttenham's verses owe nothing demonstrable to any direct contact with Eastern patterns does not mean that his poems contain no references or allusions traceable to Oriental sources. Although the transmission of verses by word of mouth could hardly have been favorable to preserving their graphic features, one might expect that certain linguistic elements would in some fashion have survived. For this reason it may be well to examine certain of the proper names in Puttenham's account of his verses, especially the names of his several Oriental authors. On the evidence of these names alone I am convinced that Puttenham intended his poems as examples of the court poetry of the Tartars of Central Asia.

Although he attributes the authorship of one of his poems to "a certaine great Sultan of Persia called *Ribuska,*" nowhere does Puttenham speak of Persian poetry as such. Neither does he refer by name to poems written in Turkish or in any of the Tartar or Turkish dialects. I suggest that the reason he does not do so is that he thought of his poems as having originated among peoples having contact with both Persian and Turkish neighbors, but the name of whose language he was unable or unwilling to specify. The few place names mentioned by Puttenham indicate that he was preoccupied with the *nugae curiales* of kingdoms associated with the name Tamerlane. Thus, he speaks of his Temir Cutzclewe, a "great Emperor in Tartary," as having returned from the conquest of "Corasoon" (Khorasan), which is "a great kingdom adioyning."[23] These sketchy remarks would place Cutzclewe's kingdom vaguely in the region east of the Caspian, extending into Transoxiana, and encompassing parts of northeastern Persia and western Turkestan, including Tamerlane's capital of Samarkand. It is risky, of course, for the modern reader to thrust into Puttenham's mouth specific place names where the Elizabethan himself, either through ignorance or design, chose to leave his geographical picture more than a little vague. Perhaps the best we can say is that Puttenham disposes of his geographical bearings in the manner of some of the playwrights of the period. His interest in his subject is as much imaginative as it is historical or in any sense scientific.

The reference to China at the outset of his discussion does not, I believe, lessen the likelihood that Puttenham's chief concern was with lands inhabited by Tartars. When he describes the traveler as having "seene the Courts of the great Princes of China and Tartarie," he does not mean to imply that the verses passed on to him were necessarily of Chinese origin. By the nod in the direction of China he merely wishes to bolster up his authority and to suggest the remarkable sweep of the traveler's journeys.

The names ascribed by Puttenham to his various courtly authors

[23] Puttenham, pp. 93-94.

support the view that his mind was on Tartary and such nations, Persia among them, known to have fallen at one time under Timurid dominion. One of these names, that of Temir Cutzclewe, has sufficient interest to deserve special notice at this moment. If it was his wish that his readers should regard his poems as of Tartar origin, Puttenham was singularly fortunate in the title of his "great Emperor in Tartary."

Despite its Elizabethan disguise, "Cutzclewe" seems to be a transcription of the common Turkish epithet *Qutlu,* "Lucky."[24] Probably the word would not have been familiar to most of Puttenham's readers, except to those who had talked to travelers from the East or who had read rather widely in the growing body of works treating Turkish history. As with many other points in his discourse, there is no way of knowing for certain how the term might have reached Puttenham's ears. But aside from what he might have learned from an informant, it is possible that the bookish critic had encountered the title in his various readings in the history of the Near East. Indeed, in at least one important work containing a store of information on the Ottoman Empire and Tartary and its tribes, the name "Cutlu" (obviously derived from *Qutlu,* "Lucky") is defined in a phrase almost identical with the words of Puttenham himself. Puttenham explains in his gloss that his Tartar monarch was called Temir Cutzclewe "for his good fortune in the wars." Leunclavius, one of the more authoritative chroniclers of Turkish history, who had passed several months in Constantinople during the winter of 1584-1585, points out in an extended gloss on the various titles of Tamerlane that the Tartars designate him as "the sword of good fortune":

> Signifiant autem Timur, sive Temur, ferrum, id est gladium. Tartari, propter successus rerum prosperrimos, Temir Cutlu cognominarunt: hoc est, ferrum seu gladium felicem.[25]

There is no reason, however, to identify Puttenham's Cutzclewe with Tamerlane himself. Had this been the Elizabethan's intention he could hardly have refrained from speaking of that conqueror as humanity's scourge. Nor need we attempt to relate Puttenham's Temir to any of the historic Kutlughs who appear as almost permanent fixtures in the annals of Turkish or Mongolian history. "The word *kutlu,*" as one authority has remarked, "and the form *kutuluk* endure through the

[24] See C. Brockelmann's *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz nach Mahmūd al-Kašyghari's Dīwān Lughāt at-Turk* (Budapest-Leipzig, 1928), p. 167, where the word *qutlu* is defined "glücklich." In view of the group *-tz-*, however, it is also possible that it is a transcription of the Turkish *Küclü* (*Küčlüg*), "Powerful"; see A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1941), p. 317a, where the word *Küčlüg* is defined "kraftvoll." As indicated above, Puttenham's remarks on the name "Cutzclewe" point to *Qutlu* as the more likely of the two sources.

[25] Joannus Leunclavius, *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum* (Frankfurt, 1588); in Migne, *Patrol. Ser. graeca,* CLIX, Sec. 418-45. The quotation appears in Leunclavius' *Pandectes Historiae Turcicae,* a supplement to the *Annales.*

history of the Turks for a thousand years."[26] What is significant is that Puttenham knew the term as a Tartar title of nobility and understood something of its etymology. This fact, however minute, suggests that the critic's account of his verses was conceived—or should one say concocted?—in a spirit of veracity.

It would be hazardous for anyone not a specialist in such matters to venture very far in theorizing about Puttenham's remaining Oriental names. Yet no reader of the treatise, Elizabethan or modern, could miss in the romantic "Selamour" a suggestion of the Turkish name "Selim." The name of "the Lady *Kermesine*," too, invites speculation. Was she by chance a Cheremissen Tartar? I think it more likely that the name is related to mediaeval Latin *kermesinus*, derived from Arabic and Persian *qirmiz* (cochineal), from which have developed such later variants as early Italian *carmesino* and English *cramoisy* and *crimson*.[27] If this derivation is acceptable, both the names "Kermesine" and "Cutzclewe" reveal an interesting coherence among certain of Puttenham's linguistic details.

Does this mean that the presence in Puttenham's treatise of proper names of a demonstrable Eastern origin must indicate that his verses were derived directly or indirectly from Eastern sources? Unless those particular sources should be discovered, a positive conclusion at this time would hardly be warranted. The two words were forms which had already reached Europe through independent channels—the one long indigenized as the name of a lovely color and Eastern dye, the other perhaps arrived via Constantinople (and possibly through Frankfurt) to join that floating body of information and pseudo information related to the Tamerlane legend.

Were Puttenham's four poems really an elaborate sixteenth-century hoax? Or perhaps, when he speaks of the jewels of the East and of shaped verses "engraven in gold, silver, or ivorie, and sometimes with letters of ametist, rubie, emeralde," was Puttenham's Elizabethan fancy merely misinterpreting a report, less exciting but more strictly accurate, that Persian calligraphers embellished their work with pigments closely imitating the color and sheen of jewels? The answer could be anybody's guess.

What is clear enough is that Puttenham was an early example of a recurrent intellectual type, the devoted amateur of the East and of the life and customs of remote peoples. Like Sir William Temple later with his Chinese gardens and "sharawadgi," Puttenham was eager to introduce his fellow countrymen to unexpected harmonies and perceptions of the mind and eye they had hitherto missed. Unfortunately, because he was forced to fall back upon Occidental conventions, the

[26] E. H. Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tartars* (London, 1924), p. 13.
[27] See *O.E.D.*, "Crimson," a. and sb.; also "Kermes," s.b.

bare geometrical shapes and the restrictions of European typography, Puttenham's creations lacked vividness of presentation and sensuous detail. And perhaps that is why his beguiling figures never modified the central tradition of European poetry in the slightest degree. Instead, they were simply absorbed into the main stream of Renaissance shaped verse as curious variants, possessing apart from their Oriental subject matter few formal differences from their general kind. Puttenham's exoticism was an exoticism of illusion. It was an affair of atmosphere, staging, and disingenuous Elizabethan publicity, rather than a true re-creation of any form of Eastern art. After all, three hundred years had to pass before the English or American reader would find renderings of the poetry of Konia in Asia Minor and Balkh in Khorasan at once adequate as translations and beautiful in their own right.

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MALLARMÉ ET POE: PRÉCISIONS ET APERÇUS

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NOUS savons relativement peu de chose sur ce que Mallarmé pensait de Poe. Certes, tout au long de sa vie il exprimera son admiration pour le poète américain, mais ce n'est qu'au temps de ses premiers poèmes, alors qu'il s'efforçait de transposer quelques-uns des procédés de Poe, qu'il nous laisse quelques témoignages plus précis sur les raisons de cet enthousiasme.

C'est dans sa jeunesse que Mallarmé fit la connaissance de Poe—Henri Mondor affirme qu'il possédait déjà ses œuvres à vingt ans. Il prétendit, dans une page autobiographique célèbre, être allé en Angleterre pour mieux le comprendre. La traduction qu'il fit de ses poèmes l'occupa pendant toute la partie centrale de sa vie. Au cours des mois décisifs où il jetait le plan de son œuvre entier, il écrivit au sujet d'*Hérodiade*, alors au centre de ses préoccupations: "Il me faudra trois ans pour achever cette œuvre, mais j'aurai fait enfin ce que je rêve: écrire un Poème, digne de Poe et que les siens ne surpassent pas."[1] Même aux yeux des admirateurs de Poe, il paraît clair que Mallarmé fit plus que l'égaler; s'inspirant peut-être de lui, il le dépassa de beaucoup. Aussi, dans les pages qui vont suivre, la méthode d'analyse s'impose-t-elle d'elle-même. Nous voudrions partir de Poe et retracer l'évolution de Mallarmé, mais il nous arrivera d'abandonner Poe en cours de route pour ne pas fausser la perspective en réduisant l'un à l'autre.

En examinant une œuvre pour déterminer si elle a pu influencer un poète, il importe de considérer avant tout l'atmosphère générale qui s'en dégage, car c'est elle qui frappe d'abord le lecteur, et que le poète, par conséquent, sera le plus tenté de recréer, consciemment ou non, dans son œuvre. Quelle vision donc a pu se lever devant le jeune Mallarmé quand il a lu d'abord les contes et les poèmes de Poe?

Shanks, dans son étude sur Poe, donne en quelques lignes un très bon résumé de l'effet général que peut produire la lecture de cet écrivain:

> The reader of the poetry [of Poe] has... a perpetual sense of insecurity. He is moving through a mysterious landscape, like none he has ever seen before, his nerves stretched to the tightest, when he suddenly realises that the scenery immediately under his eyes is only paint and canvas and not good paint and canvas at that.[2]

L'enchantement n'en a pas moins existé au début, et aurait sans doute continué sans quelque maladresse de la part de l'auteur. Nous aimerions le retrouver pour nous y replonger, car l'aspect des coulisses est triste et

[1] *Propos sur la poésie*, ed. H. Mondor (Paris, 1946), p. 59.
[2] Edward Shanks, *Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1937), p. 102.

peu exaltant, mais la curiosité intellectuelle et destructrice de l'homme va nous retenir quelque temps derrière la scène.

Poe nous transporte dans un monde enchanté, plein de mystère et d'inconscient, où se confondent les sentiments et la connaissance. Il choisit de préférence un moyen-âge obscur et magique. Mais c'est le moyen-âge redécouvert par les romantiques, peuplé de ruines grandioses, d'hommes nobles, de femmes éthérées, de grandes actions, enveloppé de brouillard. Poe le construit à l'aide d'un vaste vocabulaire architectural: "palaces," "towers," "kingly halls," "ruins," "spires," "ramparts" émergent à chaque instant de la brume, tandis que la lune éclaire le paysage de ses rayons blafards. La terreur émane d'une accumulation de cercueils, de tombes, de caveaux, de soupirs et de larmes. Aux fenêtres de hautes chambres closes s'agitent invariablement des rideaux lourds, et des tentures épaisses laissent voir d'étranges et monstrueux dessins. Parfois ce monde est enchanté au sens propre du mot: tout ce qui devrait se mouvoir est immobile, et ce qui devrait être immobile s'agite. Ou encore, c'est un monde paradisiaque où règne l'innocence, où des enfants se promènent et s'aiment; la mer et l'eau sont toujours proches, les fleurs—roses, lys, myrtes, violettes—égaient des prés toujours verts. C'est le monde caché des îles, des brises et du bonheur.

Le language même de Poe a une tonalité toute particulière, d'ailleurs assez fréquente chez les poètes de son temps: langage fictif du passé, il est d'une sonorité profonde et rare; les voyelles et les liquides y jouent un rôle prépondérant. Quelques tournures désuètes y reviennent, comme la deuxième personne du singulier, des formes archaïques de l'adjectif possessif, des formes syntactiques peu usuelles, mais surtout des mots rappelant de vieilles ballades: "saintly days of yore," "lore," "yonder," "dirge." Certes, ces mots sont souvent vides, mais par leur son et leurs associations, ils confèrent sa richesse au texte. Une mince peau morte tendue sur de l'air peut produire beaucoup de tons profonds et émouvants, même d'une surprenante variété.

Les habitants de l'univers de Poe ont tous quelque chose de mystérieux. Ils sont en général de noble lignée, riches, très doués. Leur talent tient du monstrueux. Ils aiment les vieux grimoires, déchiffrent des livres oubliés et poussiéreux, s'adonnent à la métaphysique comme à une science magique. On ne sait rien de leur vie écoulée. Quelque vague remords d'une faute passée ou le regret d'un événement irréparable empreignent leur visage d'une pâleur caractéristique. Les femmes sont belles, leurs yeux sont grands, leurs mouvements silencieux et rythmiques. Il y a un flottement pré-raphaélitique dans leur apparition. Des esprits ou des chevaliers errants paraissent et disparaissent à l'arrière-plan, selon des lois qui leur sont propres.

Si Mallarmé a été frappé de tout cet apparat, il ne l'a pas fait entrer

dans ses poèmes. A l'exception de ce qu'il écrivit dans sa jeunesse sous l'influence dominante de Baudelaire, il nous mène presque toujours dans un pays où l'on ne connaît ni les soupirs, ni les couleurs, ni la chaleur. Le messager cher à chacun des deux poètes symbolise tout ce qui sépare leurs deux univers: pour Mallarmé, c'est le cygne, blanc; pour Poe, le corbeau, noir et chargé de la superstition des siècles. Si l'admiration de Mallarmé pour Poe n'était pas si bien établie, on pourrait croire que toute influence dût être influence par répulsion.

Les deux univers ne se rencontrent sans doute qu'une seule fois: dans *Igitur,* où l'influence de Baudelaire a pu renforcer celle de Poe, quoique cette dernière soit nettement prédominante. Certes ce drame a plusieurs niveaux de signification, et les plus profonds nous mènent bien loin de Poe. Mais à la première lecture quelque chose de poesque se dégage.

La situation générale déjà ressemble à celle qui introduit tant de contes. Igitur est le dernier descendant d'une vieille famille dont il a hérité les traits et la mission. Cette mystérieuse race est présente dans l'ombre. Son nom même, Elbehnon, rappelle les syllabes étranges que Poe unit pour produire un effet spécial. Le drame se passe tout à l'intérieur d'un vieux palais, même presque toujours dans une seule chambre. Or, Poe avait écrit:

> It has always appeared to me that a close *circumscription of space* is absolutely necessary to the effect of insulated incident:—it has the force of a frame to a picture. It has an indisputable moral power in keeping concentrated the attention... ["The Philosophy of Composition"].

Dans la chambre, des tentures, des tapisseries; les rideaux frissonnent, inquiets. L'atmosphère est étouffée, suffoquante même et enchantée. Tout y pèse, les ébènes sont massifs, les tentures saturées, pleines de monstres. Le vocabulaire rappelle les temps passés: Igitur déchiffre un grimoire. Les adjectifs "ancien," "antique," "immémorial," "héraldique" foisonnent.

L'horloge, le passage du temps, le mouvement du balancier et minuit jouent un grand rôle, comme dans "Le Masque de la mort rouge," "Le Corbeau" et le "Colloque entre Monos et Una." Partout règnent les ténèbres. Comme chez Poe, il s'agit d'une tombe avec de lourdes portes de fer, où Igitur craint de percevoir un mouvement. Ses sens s'affinent —surtout l'ouïe, le sens préféré de Poe—et une grande clarté de perception coexiste avec l'hallucination. Un frôlement lui fait croire au passage d'un oiseau de nuit. Le bruit s'en prolonge par le corridor du temps et la porte de son sépulcre. Puis il entend la pulsation de son cœur. Comme chez Poe, nous nous trouvons transportés dans un monde inconnu, étrange et fascinant, dont il nous faut accepter l'existence avec ses lois incompréhensibles, au-delà de toute logique.

Cependant, même dans *Igitur,* combien il y a du pur Mallarmé, combien de choses que Poe n'aurait jamais dites ni même pensées! Le

rythme général est beaucoup plus heurté, plus "difficile" que chez Poe. Mais surtout nous y trouvons cette absence, cette négation, si chères à Mallarmé : dans la pureté de la glace où Igitur se cherche, dans la raréfaction de l'atmosphère qui s'y reflète. Le Néant, le Hasard sont là. L'absence se manifeste jusque dans les adjectifs, tel "vacante" accouplé à "sonorité."

Ces derniers éléments domineront dans ses autres poèmes. Là le blanc vient entièrement chasser le noir. Le froid stérilise tout. La neige et la glace règnent seules et transpercent tout de leur pure et souvent cruelle limpidité. Quelques-uns de ses plus beaux poèmes sont sur la mort, et les tombes massives de Poe, avec de lourdes pierres ou des portes de fer, s'y retrouvent. Cependant il faut parler avec réserve de la nuit chez Mallarmé. Baudelaire, Poe, Delacroix ne doivent pas nous cacher que la nuit est avant tout pour lui :

> Nuit blanche de glaçons et de neige cruelle.
> (*Hérodiade*)

Son poème funéraire le plus sombre peut-être, celui qui contient des vers comme :

> Et l'avare silence et la massive nuit
> ("Toast funèbre")

est le même qui proclame :

> ... Oubliez une croyance sombre.
> Le splendide génie éternel n'a pas d'ombre.

Il n'y a là ni sang ou fausse mort, ni âme déprimée ou remords sombre.

Le plus poesque de ses sonnets contient tant de Mallarmé qu'en dépit du thème c'est là ce qui nous frappe tout d'abord. Nous songeons à "Sur les bois oubliés ..." Qui d'autre eût trouvé ces termes si concis ?

> ... ô captif solitaire du seuil.
> Une veille t'exalte à ne pas fermer l'œil.

Qui d'autre eût parlé de "Minuit qui jeta son vain nombre," ou du tombeau qui "du manque seul des lourds bouquets s'encombre" ?

Cependant la situation est bien celle du "Corbeau." Cent huit vers se réduisent à quatorze. L'amant, à minuit, en hiver, veille dans sa chambre. Même le fauteuil de Poe est là. Il s'exalte dans son attente ; il murmure le nom de la bien-aimée. Elle existe encore à l'état d'ombre, telle Eléonora, et il se berce de souvenirs. De même que pour Morella et Ligeia, l'évocation de son nom lui donnera la force de revenir. Mais contrairement à la plupart des héroïnes de Poe, elle est indolente et ne poussera pas avec l'archarnement de Ligeia la porte de sa tombe. Tous les accessoires romantiques et les répétitions ont été éliminés pour faire place à une concision extrême de pensée et d'expression. L'élément dramatique et le dominant effroi ont disparu.

L' "Ouverture ancienne d'Hérodiade" est le seul autre poème où les quelques éléments poesques sont dignes d'attention. Nous voyons la

> ... tour cinéraire et sacrificatrice,
> Lourde tombe ...
> ... des pays déchus et tristes le manoir.

Tout attend l'incantation. Comme dans "La Cité en la Mer," sur les bassins, pas un clapotement. C'est l'automne. Par un "vitrail" nous apercevons des tapisseries lourdes; le lit est comparé à un grimoire.

Nous trouvons aussi dans ce poème le genre de répétition que Mallarmé, contrairement à Poe, emploie d'habitude fort peu: celles qui expliquent, ou qui reprennent la pensée pour aller un pas plus loin.

> Il ne sait pas cela le roi qui salarie ...
> Son père ne sait pas cela ...
>
> Comme un cygne cachant en sa plume ses yeux,
> Comme les mit le vieux cygne en sa plume ...

Mais c'est là assez peu de chose. On a cru retrouver tout Poe dans "Prose pour des Esseintes." A notre avis cette ressemblance ne frappe pas à première vue; le poème n'a pas, comme *Igitur*, une surface palpable. Il est tout abstraction, et une comparaison devrait se greffer sur une interprétation, trop incertaine en ce cas pour pouvoir être concluante.

Quelques détails sont encore à noter, telle la lune claire, au contour net, plongeant ses deux cornes dans la brume comme l'astre d' "Ulalume," dans "Las de l'amer repos ..."; parmi beaucoup de poèmes avec des répétitions, celles dans "L'Azur," précédées d'une transformation de l'azur en angélus, rappellent d'autant plus "Les Cloches" que le sentiment qui émane du poème anglais y est exprimé en toutes lettres:

> *Je suis hanté*! L'Azur! l'Azur! l'Azur! l'Azur!

Relevons enfin le thème du départ de "Brise Marine," baudelairien, mais qui se trouve aussi dans les contes de Poe, allié à la vision de l'orage si fréquent chez ce dernier, le naufrage du bateau ("sans mâts, sans mâts") loin des îlots aimés de l'Américain.

Les thèmes montreraient-ils plus de ressemblance? Nous avons déjà indiqué que ce n'était guère le cas pour celui de la mort. Quant à l'amour, Mallarmé crut l'avoir exclu de ses poèmes. Il avait écrit, pensant à Poe: "Les poètes du spleen idéalisé ne peuvent guère sentir ou rendre l'amour. Aussi E. Poe exclut-il de l'Art la Passion, comme trop familière ..."[3] Poe, pas plus que Mallarmé, n'avait pas entièrement appliqué sa théorie. Il est vrai cependant que l'amour joue un rôle relativement restreint chez tous les deux. Il est souvent nommé chez Poe, mais le plus souvent c'est le deuil, le remords, la crainte de perdre

[3] Henri Mondor, *Vie de Mallarmé* (Paris, 1943), p. 149.

la bien-aimée qui sont au premier plan. Toutefois, quand il apparaît, il est beaucoup plus frissonnant, plus sensuel, plus vivant aussi chez le poète français.

La femme, pour Poe, est toujours la sœur, mot qui symbolise la pureté de son amour. Mallarmé aussi la voit parfois un peu ainsi ("Soupir," "Frisson d'hiver") ; à la suite de Baudelaire, il la revêt même du mystère du passé que lui attribue Poe ("ma sœur au regard de jadis . . .") ; mais dans "O si chère . . ." d'autres sentiments viennent bientôt chasser le pieux amour fraternel. Même dans "Apparition," l'amie a trop de réalité pour être la fille du génie de Poe.

Les cheveux, qui jouent un rôle si important chez les femmes de Mallarmé, avaient aussi attiré l'attention de Poe. Mais ils sont rarement chez lui les êtres indépendants et presque vivants qu'ils sont chez son admirateur. Les mêmes fleurs apparaissent souvent chez les deux poètes, mais encore une fois elles sont bien plus réelles chez Mallarmé. Quant à l'eau, qui est toujours présente chez Poe, elle est plus rare chez Mallarmé, et enclose dans des bassins au lieu de rivages mystérieux. On peut voir là aussi un symbole de la différence de leur génie : l'imagination souvent en ébullition de Poe, celle, domptée, encerclée, de Mallarmé.

"Plus j'irai et plus je serai fidèle à ces sévères idées que m'a léguées mon grand maître Edgar Poe," écrivait Mallarmé à Cazalis en janvier 1864 en lui envoyant "L'Azur," accompagné d'une analyse du poème qu'il voulait semblable à "Genèse d'un poème." Il admira toujours, semble-t-il, cet ouvrage qui, avec le "Principe poétique" et quelques passages des "Marginalia," énonce le plus clairement l'esthétique de Poe. Même quand il fut amené à douter du fondement anecdotique de cet écrit, il maintint que cette analyse n'en était pas moins sincère. Il la résume ainsi : "Tout hasard doit être banni de l'œuvre moderne et n'y peut être que feint ; et l'éternel coup d'aile n'exclut pas un regard lucide, scrutant l'espace dévoré par son vol" ("Scolies"). C'est la traduire en ses propres termes et en extraire ce qui est essentiel pour lui.

Mallarmé avait raison, sans aucun doute. Que la "Genèse d'un poème" fût composée après coup ne diminuait en rien sa *possibilité*. L'admirable logicien, le parfait conteur qu'était Poe aurait pu penser son poème à peu près en ces termes. Ce qui est certain, c'est que Mallarmé le fit, et que cette phrase si courte : "no one point in its composition [i.e., of "The Raven"] is referable either to accident or intuition," semble le grain de sable que la pensée mallarméenne, fascinée, entoura de couches successives de nacre jusqu'à lui donner un pur éclat et un volume inattendu. Son rêve eût été de créer à partir de ce centre l'immortelle Perle : Le Livre. Il ne put atteindre que ces derniers mots : "un coup de dés jamais n'abolira le hasard."

Il en est de même de tous les éléments de l'esthétique de Mallarmé.

Poe a relativement peu écrit à ce sujet, et ses idées étaient, sinon simples, du moins sans complexité profonde. Que Mallarmé les ait prises comme point de départ ou qu'il les ait rencontrées en chemin, toujours est-il que chez lui elles atteignent une condensation, une intensité inconnue chez Poe. C'est pourtant dans le domaine de la théorie esthétique qu'il est le plus proche de lui.

Ne rien laisser au hasard signifie avant tout pour Poe songer à l'effet final, soumettre toute l'œuvre à cet objet, et ne jamais briser l'unité du tout. C'est ce à quoi Mallarmé s'applique lui aussi, comme le montre la lettre à Cazalis déjà citée:

> J'ai voulu rester implacablement dans mon sujet... Le premier mot, qui revêt la première idée, outre qu'il tend lui-même à l'*effet* général du poème, sert encore à préparer le dernier.
>
> L'effet produit, sans une dissonance, sans une fioriture, même admirable, qui distrait,—voilà ce que je cherche.

Comme Poe encore, à côté de l'effet apparent, il en veut un autre plus caché mais tout aussi unifié. Plus encore que son prédécesseur, il cherche la complexité qui ornera l'intention trop nue.

De plus en plus, cependant, l'effort de Mallarmé se concentrera sur le mot. Cette préoccupation n'était pas étrangère à Poe. Il nous renseigne lui-même sur le soin qu'il mit à choisir son "Nevermore." Dans "Marginalia," il écrit: "In the hands of the artist the theme, or 'wŏrk' is but a mass of clay of which anything ... may be fashioned at will or according to the skill of the workman." Mais chez Mallarmé la conception fondamentale est quelque peu différente. Il ne s'agit plus seulement d'un poète qui a confiance en ses instruments, qui croit, comme Poe, qu'il n'y a presque rien que l'on ne puisse exprimer et qui vient sagement se ranger dans la lignée des Parnassiens doués et travailleurs. De même que le Hasard pour lui est quelque chose qui existe, une force, métaphysique peut-être, mais une force sans aucun doute, de même le mot devient une arme véritable dans le combat spirituel. Dans son essence il est en quelque sorte un morceau du corps amorphe et omniprésent de cet hostile Hasard qui, s'il passe sous la domination de la volonté, lui retirera une partie de sa réalité, de sa vie menaçante.

Le mot même, ne pouvant jamais être entièrement conquis, sera emprisonné dans le vers et ainsi soustrait au hasard: "Le vers n'étant autre qu'un mot parfait, vaste, natif, une adoration pour la vertu des mots."

Pour Poe le vers n'était pas une unité fondamentale, nécessaire: "Verse originates in the human enjoyment of equality, fitness," écrit-il dans "Rationale of Verse." Mallarmé par contre va jusqu'à dire:

> Similitude entre les vers, et vieilles proportions, une régularité durera parce que l'acte poétique consiste à voir soudain qu'une idée se fractionne en un nombre de motifs égaux par valeur et à les grouper; ils riment: pour sceau extérieur, leur commune mesure qu'apparente le coup final ["Crise de Vers"].

Pour Poe c'est le principe d'égalité qui régit toute versification. La joie de retrouver dans la répétition, suffisamment variée pour ne pas être monotone, une note précédemment entendue, se trouve à la source de ce plaisir esthétique qu'il convient tout particulièrement à la poésie de dispenser. C'est en vertu de ce même principe qu'il donne une valeur primordiale à l'emploi du refrain et de l'allitération. Le même principe forme la base des incantations. Par cette monotonie variée elles plaisent à notre esprit, le rendent paresseux jusqu'à l'hypnotiser, et arrivent à lui faire croire ce que sous d'autres conditions il ne serait nullement disposé à accepter. Aussi beaucoup de ses poèmes et certains de ses contes produisent-ils un certain effet magique, la répétition des sons renforçant la répétition intellectuelle, si je puis dire. Il est étonnant que malgré son intérêt si souvent exprimé pour le mesmérisme, Poe n'ait pas fait la théorie de sa pratique dans ce sens.

Mallarmé se rendit plus clairement compte de cette propriété du vers.

> Je dis qu'existe entre les vieux procédés et le sortilège, que restera la poésie, une parité secrète... Le vers, trait incantatoire! et, on ne déniera au cercle que perpétuellement ferme, ouvre la rime une similitude avec les ronds, parmi l'herbe, de la fée ou du magicien... ["Grands faits divers: Magie"].

La perception du retour d'un thème déjà ouï, perception que l'on peut affiner presqu'à l'infini, constitue pour Poe aussi un élément essentiel du plaisir que nous procure la musique. Ses paroles sont claires: "The perception of pleasure in the equality of sound is the principle of Music" ("Rationale of Verse"). C'est une des choses les plus remarquables que cette préoccupation constante pour la musique chez les deux poètes. Car il ne s'agit pas seulement de quelque recherche de la musicalité du vers qui ne serait guère digne d'attention. Il y a cela aussi, certes. En effet, Poe écrit:

> Music, in its various modes of metre, rhythm and rhyme, is of so vast a moment in Poetry as never to be wisely rejected—is so vitally important an adjunct, that he is simply silly who declines its assistance ["The Poetic Principle"].

Mallarmé de même demande que tout concoure à un rythme total.[4] Mais cela l'intéresse évidemment moins. Ce qui lui parait essentiel dans la musique, le vit-il suggéré chez Poe? Il serait difficile de le dire, étant donné que ce dernier ne précise pas suffisamment ses idées pour les rendre inéluctables au lecteur. Cependant, dans la phrase que nous venons de citer, Poe ne considère pas seulement la musique en tant que son, mais encore en tant que relation. Il en parle plus longuement en termes mi-scientifiques dans les phrases qui suivent celle que nous avons reprise. Partant de cette notion, à laquelle il donne un sens plus complexe toutefois, sans doute découvert en lui-même, Mallarmé une fois de plus *pense* plus loin. De ce heurt que sont les relations, jaillissent pour

[4] *Propos sur la poésie*, p. 168.

lui les choses suggérées, non nommées, comme dans la métaphore. Or, c'est la suggestion seule qu'il juge proprement poétique. De là, se tournant contre le réalisme, il demandera sa protection à l'hermétisme qui lui permettra précisément de suggérer sans nommer et d'exiger de ses lecteurs l'approfondissement.

On peut illustrer cet enchevêtrement de pensées complexes en citant la "Crise de vers":

> Décadente, Mystique, les Ecoles ... adoptent, comme rencontre, le point d'un Idéalisme qui, (pareillement aux fugues, aux sonates) refuse les matériaux naturels et, comme brutale, une pensée exacte les ordonnant; pour ne garder de rien que la suggestion. Instituer une relation entre les images exacte, et que s'en détache un tiers aspect fusible et clair présenté à la divination ... Abolie, la prétention, esthétiquement une erreur ... d'inclure au papier subtil du volume autre chose que par exemple l'horreur de la forêt, ou le tonnerre muet épars au feuillage; non le bois intrinsèque et dense des arbres ...
>
> ... nous en sommes là, précisément, à rechercher ... un art d'achever la transposition, au Livre, de la symphonie ou uniment de reprendre notre bien: car, ce n'est pas de sonorités élémentaires par les cuivres, les cordes, les bois, indéniablement mais de l'intellectuelle parole à son apogée que doit avec plénitude et évidence, résulter, en tant que l'ensemble des rapports existant dans tout, la Musique.

Et pour cela, il faut la brisure du langage qui permet la recréation.

En cours de route Mallarmé rencontre plus d'une fois Poe. Celui-ci comprit le rôle important que le mystère joue dans notre appréciation de la musique et de la poésie:

> I *know* that indefiniteness is an element of true music—I mean of true musical expression. Give to it any undue decision ... and you deprive it at once of its ethereal, its intrinsic and essential character ... Indefinite is an element of true ποιησις ["Marginalia"].

A partir de là, Poe, lui aussi, est amené à recommander la suggestion. Toujours il s'est tourné contre le réalisme et, comme Mallarmé, tout particulièrement en méditant sur la musique:

> He who shall simply sing, with however glowing enthusiasm or with however vivid a truth of description, of the sights, and sounds, and odors, and dolors, and sentiments which greet *him* in common with all mankind—he, I say, has yet failed to prove his divine title ... We have still a thirst unquenchable, to allay which he has not shown us the crystal springs ... This thirst, is no mere appreciation of the Beauty above ... Thus when by Poetry, or when by Music, the most entrancing of the Poetic moods, we find ourselves melted into tears, we weep then, not through an excess of pleasure, but through a certain, petulant, impatient sorrow at our inability to grasp *now*, wholly, here on earth, at once and forever, those divine and rapturous joys of which *through* the poem, or *through* the music, we attain to but brief and indeterminate glimpses ["The Poetic Principle"].

Dans ses débuts poétiques, Mallarmé partageait avec Poe ce culte de la Beauté. Vers la fin de cette lettre si importante au sujet de "L'Azur" que nous avons mentionnée à plusieurs reprises, il demande avec anxiété: "Est-ce beau? Y a-t-il un reflet de la Beauté?" Et quatre

ans plus tard, il écrit au même ami: "Il n'y a que la Beauté,—et elle n'a qu'une expression parfaite: la Poésie. Tout le reste est mensonge."[5] Mais plus tard, semble-t-il, la Beauté se rangeait mal parmi les divinités glaciales, presque négatives, du Hasard, du Néant, qui l'obsédaient. Trop concrète sans doute, elle fut détrônée par l'Idée qui devint son étoile polaire, trop souvent voilée, toujours insaisissable. La Musique et la Poésie prennent cependant, par rapport à elle, une position semblable à celle que leur assigne Poe par rapport à sa Beauté.

Alors que Poe peint un sentiment—la joie que certains moments poétiques lui procurent vient de ce qu'il croit avoir saisi un instant la Beauté—Mallarmé, tout en examinant davantage les raisons qui font de la Musique et des Lettres deux facettes de l'Idée, cherche la loi qui les rapproche:

> Un solitaire tacite concert se donne, par la lecture, à l'esprit qui regagne, sur une sonorité moindre, la signification: aucun moyen mental exaltant la symphonie, ne manquera, raréfié et c'est tout—du fait de la pensée. La Poésie, proche l'idée, est Musique, par excellence—ne consent pas d'infériorité ["Le Livre, instrument spirituel"].

Peut-être Poe ne serait-il pas d'accord sur ce dernier point, car il semble parfois juger la musique supérieure même à la poésie comme interprète du Beau. Mais tous deux trouvent que l'une ne peut que gagner au contact de l'autre.

Ce Beau, nous l'avons vu, Poe gémit de le sentir toujours là, de ne faire que l'entrevoir sans jamais réussir à le saisir. Cette plainte passagère sera pour Mallarmé, au contraire, la douleur de toute sa vie, et aussi le sujet de quelques-uns de ses plus beaux poèmes. Non seulement, comme Poe et d'ailleurs beaucoup de Parnassiens, il s'est efforcé d'adhérer à l'idéal de la poésie pure, mais il a voulu éliminer entièrement le hasard. Même son "maître" se rend coupable de bien des négligences et des maladresses. Il y a des remplissages, des comparaisons qui n'ajoutent rien. Chez Mallarmé au contraire le hasard est chassé même de son recoin préféré: la rime. Ne perdant jamais de vue son idéal, il se rendait plus clairement compte de la distance qui l'en séparait. Mais de cette attention invariable nacquit aussi un complexe de pensées plus précis de beaucoup que celui de Poe, et Mallarmé pouvait écrire:

> Jamais pensée ne se présente à moi, détachée... les miennes formant le trait, musicalement placées, d'un ensemble et, à s'isoler, je les sens perdre jusqu'à leur vérité et sonner faux ["Sur l'Idéal à vingt ans"].

De ses réflexions soutenues sur les moyens d'expression naît enfin un monde sans substance, d'une abstraction extrême, consistant avant tout en rapports. Encore une fois nous voici loin du monde de Poe.

Quand Poe parle de la réalité du mot, dans son conte "Puissance de la Parole," il démontre comment chaque mot prononcé met en mouve-

[5] *Ibid.* p. 80.

ment certaines ondes vibratoires qui continuent éternellement. Peut-être a-t-il voulu s'exprimer par symbole. Mais si c'est le cas, combien son choix est malheureux et combien son expression est faible à côté des évocations de Mallarmé qui croit que le mot crée réellement.[6] Quand Poe parle de métaphores ou de correspondances dans "Marginalia," il semble encore faire allusion à un monde d'existence concrète : certaines relations dans le monde de la pensée semblent rappeler celles qui existent entre les objets, et on peut alors avoir quelque droit à les prendre pour exemple si l'on ne va pas trop loin dans la comparaison. Il se rapproche cependant une fois de plus de Mallarmé dans le "Colloque entre Monos et Una," où il écrit :

> The poetic intellect [is] that intellect which we now feel to have been the most exalted of all, since those truths which to us were of the most enduring importance could only be reached by that *analogy* which speaks in proof-tones to the imagination alone and to the unaided reason bears no weight.

Ce que Mallarmé a évité avant tout c'est le romantisme de Poe. Or une grande partie de l'œuvre de ce dernier s'explique par là, n'est que cela. Il est curieux que Mallarmé ait tant aimé un auteur qui se consacrait essentiellement à ce qu'il rejetait. Mais il faut noter à cet égard que Mallarmé admirait surtout dans l'œuvre de Tennyson "Maud" et "Locksley Hall," qui ont la même tonalité. Peut-être aimait-il précisément ce qu'il s'est si sévèrement refusé.

Mais Poe avait d'autres qualités presque opposées aux précédentes et qui le rapprochaient davantage de Mallarmé. Il aimait la clarté et la précision. Même dans ses contes les plus hallucinants, il y a habituellement un douteur, un être sain qui donne le diagnostic de "folie" ou "coïncidence" aux événements. Quand le narrateur est aussi acteur, nous sommes avertis par lui qu'il est malade ou sous l'influence d'une drogue. L'esprit de Poe était un esprit de logicien, de mathématicien. Mais logique et mathématiques sont souvent un ornement pour lui alors que Mallarmé voulut toujours tirer toutes les conséquences de ses découvertes. La science de Poe n'était d'ailleurs pas sèche, il y avait un élément de cabale et d'occultisme dans ses croyances les plus abstraites. Comme Mallarmé, il croyait à la mission du poète, à la force du mot, à une Beauté transcendante que la musique et les lettres peuvent seules faire entrevoir. Comme lui encore, il eût voulu condenser l'univers dans un seul poème. Car "Eureka," à la fois "beau et vrai," n'est-ce pas l'aboutissement d'un effort semblable à celui qui produisit le "Coup de dés" chez Mallarmé?

Il y a donc des points de contact, mais ils ne sont pas très nombreux. En vertu d'une osmose inconsciente mais sélective, Mallarmé—tout

[6] Pour une interprétation différente, voir Allen Tate, *The Forlorn Demon* (Chicago, 1953), "The Angelic Imagination." M. Tate se place à un point de vue non esthétique, mais philosophico-religieux.

comme Baudelaire ou Villiers de l'Isle-Adam—a pris chez Poe ce qui convenait le mieux à ses conceptions littéraires et à son tempérament propre. C'est en cela que réside l'importance d'une étude de leurs relations : elle nous renseigne, mieux peut-être que l'analyse de ses poèmes eux-mêmes, sur le fonctionnement propre du génie de Mallarmé ; nous le surprenons en quelque sorte à l'œuvre, rejetant ce qui lui est étranger, assimilant ce qui lui ressemble et révélant ainsi sa nature.[7]

New Haven, Conn.

[7] On peut trouver quelques remarques éparses sur ce sujet dans presque tous les livres qui ont été écrits sur Mallarmé. Notons en particulier : Henri Mondor, *Vie de Mallarmé* (Paris, 1941), toujours précieux pour des renseignements biographiques ; Kurt Wais, *Mallarmé* (nouvelle édition, Munich, 1952) ; E. Noulet, *L'Œuvre poétique de Stéphane Mallarmé* (Paris, 1940).

Ces deux derniers auteurs ont aussi fait paraître deux articles consacrés plus spécialement au sujet que nous avons traité ici : K. Wais dans *ZFSL*, LXI (1937), "E. A. Poe und Mallarmé's 'Prose pour des Esseintes'" ; E. Noulet, plus récemment, dans un excellent article des *Etudes littéraires* (Mexico, 1948).

Léon Lemonnier a consacré toute une série d'articles à l'influence d'Edgar A. Poe en France, et *E. Poe et les poètes français* a paru en 1932. Un article important du même critique a été publié en 1943 dans *Langues Modernes* sous le titre de "Baudelaire et Mallarmé traducteurs d'Edgar Poe."

On pourra aussi consulter : T. S. Eliot, "A propos de Mallarmé et de Poe," paru en français dans la *NRF* (1er nov. 1926), et plus récemment *From Poe to Valéry* (Washington, 1949) ; P. Claudel, "Catastrophe d'Igitur," *NRF*, (1er nov. 1926) ; P. Mansell Jones, "Poe, Baudelaire and Mallarmé," *MLR*, XXXIX (1944), 236-246 ; W. Fowlie, "The Theme of Night in Four Sonnets of Mallarmé," *MP*, XLIV (1947). Les idées maîtresses de cet article se retrouvent dans le récent livre de cet auteur, *Mallarmé* (Chicago, 1953).

L' "Etat des travaux sur E. A. Poe en France," par Claire-Eliane Engel, *MP*, XXIX (1932), 482-488, ne comprend naturellement pas les ouvrages récents. Comme ouvrage accessoire au sujet, mais très utile, citons J. Scherer, *L'Expression littéraire dans l'œuvre de Mallarmé* (Paris, 1947).

THE DON JUAN THEME IN MOLIÈRE AND KIERKEGAARD

RONALD GRIMSLEY

THE intention of this article is not to carry out a comprehensive survey of the Don Juan legend or even to make an exhaustive study of its appearance in the work of Molière and Kierkegaard, but rather to compare certain aspects of the subject as it is treated by two writers who, whatever the differences in temperament, outlook, and situation, are momentarily united by their interest in a common theme. It must be said at once, however, that this comparison is not being made with a view to tracing "influences" but with the idea of exploring two basic aesthetic and human attitudes. The justification of an approach which thus associates Molière and Kierkegaard with the Don Juan legend does not rely solely on the intrinsic interest of the subject, for the comparison has already been suggested by one of the writers themselves. In the first part of Kierkegaard's *Either/Or* (1843) there occurs a short but interesting section which is devoted to a discussion of Molière's *Don Juan* (1665); and it is this criticism which I propose to take as a starting point for the development of the present enquiry, the precise purpose of which will be, first, to indicate the main points of Kierkegaard's somewhat sinuous argument and then to draw out some of their implications in relation to Molière's play and to Kierkegaard's own constructive attempt to solve the problems he raised.

When considering Kierkegaard's observations upon *Don Juan,* we must always bear in mind that he is not interested in Molière for his own sake but chiefly as a means of throwing further light upon another treatment of the same subject, Mozart's *Don Giovanni,* and that the opera is, in its turn, referred to still wider aspects of the Don Juan theme.[1] Kierkegaard seems to assume throughout that any particular aesthetic illustration of the subject is ultimately inseparable from a viewpoint which extends beyond art to the more complete reality of human existence.

The point of the subsequent discussion will perhaps be made clearer by means of a brief indication of Kierkegaard's main purpose in

[1] Quotations will be taken from Vol. I of *Either/Or* by Søren Kierkegaard, trans. by D. F. Swenson and L. M. Swenson (New York and Princeton, 1944). Kierkegaard refers to Mozart's opera as *Don Juan,* which is of course the title of the German translation. I have used the Italian title by which the work is generally known in the English-speaking world. This is, moreover, in conformity with the original libretto of Da Ponte. I also quote Molière's play by its modern title of *Don Juan,* although it was of course known in the seventeenth century as *Dom Juan.*

Either/Or. It will be recalled that this work falls into two main parts. The first is supposed to be drawn from the papers of a young man A who represents various aspects of the "aesthetic" life—"aesthetic" here being used as a term covering all those modes of existence which are dominated by the hedonistic desires of the "natural" man concerned above all with the enjoyment of sensuous and emotional experience. The second part, which stands in a dialectical relation to the first, represents the moral viewpoint and repudiates a selfish preoccupation with momentary pleasure in order to identify the true way of life with that of the "universal human." Its protagonist is B, the happily married Judge William, who opposes the lasting beauty of a life based on the acceptance of ethical obligations and standards to the irresponsibility and emptiness of a selfish "aesthetic" existence. Don Juan is, therefore, important for Kierkegaard as the personification of a type of existence which has more than a merely individual or particular meaning. Quite early in his career Kierkegaard had treated Don Juan as one member of a trinity which stood for "life outside religion in its three principal aspects: doubt, sensuality, despair—Faust, Don Juan, Ahasverus (the Wandering Jew)."[2] In using the Don Juan theme Kierkegaard could naturally draw upon a wealth of early material; for, although the first attempt to give serious dramatic expression to the legend seems to have been the Spanish play *El Burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra*, printed in 1630 and usually attributed to Tirso de Molina, the legend itself is much older and appears to indicate a subject of universal interest. In *Either/Or* Kierkegaard gives only a brief account of the broader historical aspects, and discusses the subject mainly with reference to the Don Juan works of Molière and Mozart, although he also considers the character of Faust and presents his own creation, Johannes, the supposed author of the "Diary of the Seducer." In general he discusses the erotic rather than the religious implications of the theme.[3]

[2] Cf. Walter Lowrie, *Kierkegaard* (New York, 1938), p. 77, and the *Journals of S. Kierkegaard* (a selection ed. and trans. by Alexander Dru, New York, 1938), entry No. 26 (1835) and especially No. 46 (1836). Another entry, No. 296 (1839), seems to indicate that the subject of Don Juan also had a more intimate and personal meaning for Kierkegaard: "In a sense I can say of *Don Juan* what Donna Elvira says to him: 'Thou murderer of my happiness.' For in truth: that is the play that so diabolically enraptured me that I can nevermore forget it; that was the piece that drove me, like Elvira, out of the calm night of the cloister."

[3] The legend usually represents Don Juan as a character whose obsession with the satisfaction of his erotic desires ultimately leads to his destruction by divine wrath. The instrument of this vengeance is the animated statue of the Commandant who had been killed by Don Juan during the course of one of his amorous adventures. Cf. Gendarme de Bévotte, *La Légende de Don Juan* (Paris, 1906 and 1911), and T. Schroeder, *Die dramatische Bearbeitungen der Don Juan-Sage* (Halle, 1912). Some brief but useful indications—and a further bibliography—are also to be found in the 14th ed. of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. VII.

Kierkegaard's whole discussion is influenced by an important dichotomy which lies at the basis of his conception of the subject—the distinction between the "immediate" (sensual) seducer and the "reflective" (selective) seducer. In his opinion the legend of Don Juan is really concerned with the "immediate" seducer who expresses the overwhelming force of primitive erotic passion. Don Juan, therefore, is not a particular individual but an "infinite power," the embodiment of the "immediate sensual genius," that is, of the fundamental quality of all "aesthetic" experience.[4] Don Juan is an "idea" and as such he is both more and less than a human being—more because he stands for an exaggeration and idealization of a normal impulse and less because he exists in only one dimension (the erotic). Now the perfect medium for the concrete artistic expression of the Don Juan idea is not language, which involves thought and reflection and so is liable to have a historical and moral reference, but music, because, of all the arts, music is the most direct and immediate in its sensuous and emotional impact. The musical form most appropriate to the subject of Don Juan is, says Kierkegaard, opera, for this is an aesthetic medium which uses language for the purpose of allowing the idea to become explicit and yet keeps it strictly subordinated to the pure sensuousness of music.[5] This perfect blending of medium and subject matter in the

[4] The Rev. T. H. Croxall in his *Kierkegaard Studies* (London and Redhill, 1948), pp. 43 and 47, note 1, points out that the phrase *Den sandselige Genialitet* means the quality genius and not the person and that the word "sensual," as used here, should not carry any kind of moral implication. This "sensuality" (sensuousness) is a primitive amoral force which has not yet attained moral awareness because it is in no way "reflective." Mr. Croxall's whole discussion of Kierkegaard's attitude towards music is also very relevant to this stage of the argument.

[5] Kierkegaard considers that attempts to express the Don Juan theme in ballet form must fail because Don Juan is "a category by himself and so cannot become visible or reveal himself through the physical form and its movements, or in plastic harmony" (p. 86). The number of ballets written on the theme have indeed been relatively few, the most famous being that of Gluck in 1761. As far as *Don Giovanni* is concerned, it is not suggested here that Kierkegaard's interpretation would be acceptable to musical critics mindful of its historical setting and the composer's actual intentions. It is clear that Kierkegaard was influenced by contemporary romantic views of the work. Professor E. J. Dent, who has given a detailed account of the work in his *Mozart's Operas, A Critical Study* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1947), insists that for Mozart *Don Giovanni* was an ordinary musical commission and was not intended as a "unique work." Many of the opera's formal features are, according to Professor Dent, due to utilitarian considerations like the necessity of writing for certain singers or the desire to compose in an accepted style, for example, that of the *opera buffa* (a style which appears at given moments in the work). *Don Giovanni* would then be far more heterogeneous than Kierkegaard supposes. However, in the field of general aesthetics—and it is worth recalling that Kierkegaard admits his technical ignorance of music (p. 52)—it is often permissible to look at a great work of art from a standpoint which is different from that of its creator, who is not always conscious of the full implications of his achievement. Here Kierkegaard is seeking the essential meaning of the musical "idea," not the precise significance

musical representation of the Don Juan theme also had the good fortune to be treated by a really great composer—Mozart. *Don Giovanni* is, for Kierkegaard, not merely a classic but a unique masterpiece in which all the potentialities of form and content are so completely realized that the feat cannot be repeated or surpassed.

Perhaps, in the strictest sense of the term, it is not correct to call the legendary and Mozartian Don Juan a "seducer," because he is not, properly speaking, an individual but a "power which nothing can withstand." To be a seducer demands reflection and cunning. "This consciousness is lacking in Don Juan. Therefore, he does not seduce. He desires and this desire acts seductively." That is why Mozart's Don Juan seems to suffuse the whole opera and give life to the other characters, who exist, so to speak, only derivatively. The entire work is the expression of the joyous vitality and passion of eroticism and its meaning is inseparable from the total mood or "idea" which it incarnates. To this "immediate" seducer represented by Mozart's Don Juan, Kierkegaard opposes his second type, the "reflective" seducer who is not a quasi-symbolic figure expressing the spirit of sensuality but a particular individual who plans and struggles to overcome the obstacles which hinder the satisfaction of his desire. If these obstacles are located in the external environment, then something of Don Juan's traditional "ideality" can still be shown in his successful efforts to remove them. This, moreover, is the principle which is accepted in most interpretations of Don Juan. If, on the other hand, attention is concentrated on Don Juan's relation to the object (the victim), the meaning of the seduction will be largely identified with the breaking down of the object's resistance. The interest of such a case will not depend on the number of victims seduced (as in the legend) but on the manner of the seduction, the craftiness with which the seducer generally takes possession of his object. The "reflective" seducer seems, therefore, to be a man who replaces the "satisfaction of desire" by the "pleasure of the deception." The representation which directs attention to the relation between the seducer and the external environment will tend to use the medium of *comedy*, because the dramatic effect will come largely from the incongruity which exists between the infinite aspirations of the desire and the pettiness of the frustrations which it constantly encounters. The activities of the "reflective" seducer, on the other hand, will be far more circumscribed

of this or that particular detail. For some interesting remarks on this point see T. H. Croxall, *op. cit.*, pp. 41 ff. We may add that Mozart's opera is only one of many on the subject, the first apparently being Acciaiuoli's *Empio punito* (1669); cf. D. J. Grout, *A Short History of Opera* (New York, 1947), I, 287, note 20. Mozart owed something to the *Il convitato di pietra* (1787) of Bertati and Gazzaniga.

and will take a *psychological* form. As such they will fall within the category of the "interesting" rather than the comic.[6]

Kierkegaard maintains that, on the whole, Molière relies on the comic rather than the psychological effect, although, as we shall see, he thinks that the psychological element is not entirely lacking. The comic effect is achieved mainly by showing the seducer in action, that is, by portraying this inordinately erotic character at grips with the embarrassments of everyday life. The main problem is, however, to express such a situation effectively on the stage and yet suggest the traditional conception of the "ideal" seducer. Thus, to show us Don Juan cheating a creditor (as in the scene with M. Dimanche) is no doubt to create excellent comedy but it also makes us lose sight of the all-conquering seducer. On one occasion, at least, Molière indicates the idea of the "reflective" seducer. This is the moment (Act I, Scene 2) when Don Juan admits to being spurred to seduction by jealousy. Here, insists Kierkegaard, is an interesting situation which would be quite out of place in an opera dealing with the "ideality of the intensive." The intermingling of these comic and psychological elements with the traditional conception leads to a confusion which illustrates the essential difficulty of all attempts to transfer the Don Juan theme to the stage. The traditional idea is obscured by the search for comic or psychologically "interesting" effects. The result is a kind of hybrid which does not give a true picture of either the "sensual" or the "reflective" seducer.

Kierkegaard points out that Molière has made an effort to suggest the idea of Don Juan the traditional seducer. When we first hear of him through Sganarelle (I, 1), he is described as a man who is prepared to break every moral rule in order to satisfy his desires. For the sake of his passion, the servant tells Gusman, Don Juan "aurait encore épousé toi, son chien et son chat" (I, 1), and later on in the play the hero is called "l'épouseur du genre humain." To Sganarelle's testimony may be added the famous speech (I, 2) in which Don Juan describes himself in truly lyrical terms as a man whose perpetual inconstancies are inspired by his devotion to the cult of beauty. This and his assertion, "je me sens un cœur à aimer toute la terre," are in perfect harmony with the traditional conception of Don Juan. In a play, however, it is not enough to tell us that a character has certain attributes. It is necessary to show them in action. But when Molière shows us Don Juan seducing his victims the old ideality is lost and we are left, insists

[6] The preceding argument is based mainly on *Either/Or*, I, 37-110, "The Immediate Stages of the Erotic or the Musical Erotic." The discussion of Molière ("Other Adaptations of Don Juan, considered in relation to the Musical Interpretation") is to be found on pp. 84-94. In view of the complexity and sometimes the obscurity of Kierkegaard's account, I have not judged it necessary to follow his own order of presentation.

Kierkegaard, with an almost ridiculous figure, and in any case with a Don Juan who does not live up to the great reputation which has been built up for him from the outset. In the scenes with the two peasant girls, Charlotte and Mathurine, Don Juan plays an inglorious role and is forced to have recourse to the commonplace expedient of promising marriage to his prospective victims. When he examines Charlotte's physical charms he is but "a lewd fellow who looks over a girl as a dealer does a horse" (p. 93). In the whole of this act he is little more than a "bully" and a "rake." In short, the spectator obtains only a poor conception of Don Juan as a seducer. Although many of these scenes are excellent comedy, the audience "gets to know only historically that Don Juan is a seducer . . . Dramatically we do not see it."

This discrepancy between the "ideal" conception and the dramatic reality is also discussed by Kierkegaard in relation to the supernatural element which is responsible for the catastrophic ending. The use of the "stone guest" is probably intended to emphasize the demonic aspect of Don Juan's attitude—an attitude which can only be thwarted by the intervention of divine power. In the opera, where Don Juan it not really an individual but a symbol of the erotic, it is not incongruous for him to be destroyed in this way, because it reinforces the principle that the "ideality" of the "flesh" can be overcome only by the higher principle of the "spirit." In the play, on the other hand, where the "ideal" aspect of Don Juan is never made dramatically effective, the use of such a drastic device as the "stone guest" creates a jarring note, since the audience feels that there is something grossly incongruous in the idea of divine wrath overtaking a man who has just been shown cheating a creditor. Would it not be more appropriate, suggests Kierkegaard, for such a man to be thrown into a debtors' prison or frustrated by one of the "tedious barriers of actuality"? The Commandant's entry savors too much of "ethical solemnity" and verges on the ridiculous.

To Kierkegaard Don Juan's whole behavior as a man who tries clumsily to seduce peasant girls with a promise of marriage, who bullies an inoffensive country lad, browbeats his servant, and cheats his creditors is out of keeping not only with the role of the traditional seducer but even with that of the aristocrat Don Juan is supposed to be. Although Molière tells us through Sganarelle that Don Juan is a "grand seigneur," his behavior is not in conformity with his status as a nobleman. He is "something less than a hero, he is an unsuccessful individual who has probably failed in his exams, and now has chosen another means of livelihood" (p. 89). It is quite improbable, in view of all the rest of his deeds, that he should ever have been the "son of a very distinguished man." Such indeed is his conduct that

one begins to wonder, adds Kierkegaard in an extraordinary conclusion, whether the whole story of his aristocratic parentage is "not a lie, fabricated by Don Juan himself." In any case, if Molière's Don Juan is a knight, "the poet knows excellently how to make us forget it." It becomes difficult for us to believe that such a man is animated by the furious passion which induces him to lure Elvire from the convent and kill the Commandant. In trying to retain something of the legendary Don Juan, Molière has created a discordant character.

Kierkegaard makes one further point which ought to be mentioned. He considers that the relationship between Don Juan and Sganarelle is without adequate motivation. Sganarelle is "an inexplicable person, whose character is extremely perplexing," chiefly because no plausible reason is given for his staying with his master. In Mozart the association of Don Juan and Leporello is far more convincing, since the presentation of Don Juan as an "ideal" force enables him to exercise an almost magical influence on those around him. Thus, in spite of all his just grounds for complaint, the servant stays with his master because of an "obscure, undefined sympathy" which is due to Don Juan's "sensual" and "musical" personality. When this relationship is given a strictly human expression, the dramatist has to advance a "rational argument" for the constant adherence of the servant to a master whom he fears and despises. Why should Sganarelle remain with Don Juan, asks Kierkegaard, when he does not even receive his wages? The truth is that there is no real unity in Sganarelle corresponding to the "sympathetic musical obscurity" of the opera.

Kierkegaard concludes his examination of Molière's *Don Juan* with a brief reference to a "remark that is often made" that Molière's Don Juan is more moral than Mozart's. He does not develop this point but merely insists that this is "an encomium on the opera," because the avowed purpose of the opera is to portray the seducer in musical terms. The ultimate effect of this may, however, be highly moral because "everything is big, everything has genuine unaffected pathos, the passion of pleasure not less than the passion of seriousness, the passion of enjoyment not less than the passion of anger" (*Either/Or*, I, 94).

Any attempt to assess the value of Kierkegaard's discussion of Molière encounters the well-known difficulty that critical opinion is divided about the play's true meaning.[7] Most critics, however, are

[7] The following discussions of *Don Juan* seem to me to be particularly useful and important in spite of differences of interpretation: J. Lemaitre, *Impressions de théâtre*, I, 54 ff.; G. Michaut, *Les Luttes de Molière* (Paris, 1925), esp. IV, 132-188; J. Arnavon, *Le "Don Juan" de Molière* (Copenhagen, 1947); W. G. Moore, *Molière, A New Criticism* (Oxford, 1949), especially pp. 93-97; Valdemar Vedel, *Deux Classiques français, Corneille et son temps—Molière* (Paris, 1935), pp. 359-373; H. Carrington Lancaster, *A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century*, Part III (Baltimore, 1936), pp. 634-647; D. Mornet, *Molière* (Paris, 1943); A. Adam, *Histoire de la littérature française*

agreed that the real significance of *Don Juan* is not to be found in its adherence to the principles of classical play construction. Apart from the obvious violations of the unities of time and place, the play does not seem to contain any coherent plot; for the two episodes constituted by Don Juan's relations with Elvire and the Commandant appear only spasmodically and are not apparently connected with each other. H. C. Lancaster has pointed out that the episodic character of the play seems to increase in the later acts; and, although this may be partly due, as he suggests, to its hasty composition, the lack of formal structure must also be deliberate.

The tendency of modern criticism has been to seek the basic unity of dramatic intention in the character of Don Juan, although it still remains uncertain on what comic or psychological principle this unity (if it exists) is built. It seems clear, however, that any attempt to understand Don Juan in accordance with the principles of what may be called psychological realism will be an anachronism, if for no other reason than that it overlooks the comic element. It is important not to forget, as Dr. W. G. Moore has recently reminded us, that as a writer for the stage Molière was mainly concerned with making people laugh and, although a great comic dramatist can find a rich source of inspiration in the foibles of human nature (thus giving his work a deeper human content), he will always remember the banal but vital fact that the patience of a theater-going audience is far less long suffering than that of the reading public. Character drawing must be constantly linked to the production of comic effect; and this usually means enough simplification and exaggeration of the main features to allow the emergence of the fundamental incongruity upon which the comic effect usually depends—the incongruity created by the character's deviation from what is considered "normal" and "natural," whether the standard of normality be that of the audience or that which the author (for the duration of his play) persuades his audience to accept as natural.

It now seems fairly well established that Molière chose the subject of Don Juan (whether at the suggestion of his company or of his own accord) as a means of restoring the depressed economic fortunes of his troupe. The Don Juan theme was a popular one and had already been treated by a number of dramatists, so that Molière found a good deal of material at his disposal.[8] This meant, however, that, what-

au XVII^e siècle (Paris, 1953), III, especially 321-337. My own discussion of the subject is not, of course, intended as an exhaustive treatment and is aimed mainly at clarifying the comparative issues which have already been raised.

[8] The problem of "sources" is fully discussed in the critical works already quoted. For my immediate purpose it will be enough to say that Molière drew mainly on the French plays of Villiers and Dorimon, the Italian works of Giliberto and Cicognini, and a scenario of the *Commedia dell'arte*. It is uncertain whether he knew directly the Spanish original of Tirso de Molina, on which the Italian versions were largely based.

ever his own conception of the subject, he had to use—in order to draw people into the theater—certain fixed elements which were already associated with the theme. It would have been unthinkable not to show Don Juan as a seducer or to omit the supernatural motif with its dependence on the machines so beloved of the audiences of the day. It is natural also that Molière should make this theme, which already contained so many elements of fantasy and unreality, an opportunity for incorporating into his play elements of broad farce. This would account for the various *lazzi* (Don Juan beating Pierrot, the buffoonery of the supper scene, etc.) sedulousy noted by most critics as being out of keeping with the more serious aspects of the play. Finally, Molière also uses the play as a vehicle for satire, sometimes for personal reasons (he was still smarting under the frustrations of the *Tartuffe* affair and the diatribe on hypocrisy is cleary aimed at his enemies) and sometimes for the purpose of exploiting topical interest for comic purposes (e.g., the reference to tobacco, the attack on medicine). The presence of all these different and sometimes conflicting factors was bound to give the work a certain heterogeneity.

As far as the character of Don Juan is concerned (and Kierkegaard, like many modern critics, is largely preoccupied with this), it is necessary to note another topical aspect of much more serious import. In some respects, at least—and some critics have gone so far as to identify the whole meaning of the character with this point—Don Juan represents a portrait of the seventeenth-century *libertin*. He is the "grand seigneur méchant homme" and as such represents a contemporary social type with whom Molière was well acquainted.[9] Moreover, this aristocratic *méchanceté* extends to the religious sphere, as the title *libertin* suggests. The atheism of Don Juan is of a particularly aggressive and ironical kind, as Michaut insists, and accords well with the hero's aristocratic origins. Kierkegaard's failure to take this aspect of the play into account leads him completely astray in his effort to cast doubt on Don Juan's aristocratic parentage. Perhaps he did not think that the dramatic representation of an aristocratic character would show him in a vicious light. It is impossible to ignore the existence of Don Juan the nobleman, not only when he behaves chivalrously in obedience to the demands of honor (it is curious that Kierkegaard should not have mentioned the rescue of Don Carlos) but also when he is shown in his dealings with the lower orders of society. The suavity and elegance of his behavior towards M. Dimanche (in spite of the unworthiness of its motive) is unmistakable. In short the courage, elegance, and independence of Don Juan appear as the traits which mark a man drawn from a particular social class.

[9] See especially J. Arnavon, *op. cit.*, pp. 50 ff.; G. Michaut, *op. cit.*, pp. 171 ff.; A. Adam, *op. cit.*, III, 329 ff.; D. Mornet, *op. cit.*, pp. 101 ff.

Molière's Don Juan, however, seems to represent more than the traditional figure of the seducer and the contemporary social type of the aristocratic *libertin*. He expresses a fundamental human attitude which has been variously described as "egoism," "self-sufficiency," and "pride."[10] Don Juan refuses to admit the validity of any kind of external constraint and will not allow his actions to be judged by anything except the dictates of his own will. His "philosophy of life" is well summed up in his own words—"songeons seulement à ce qui peut nous donner plaisir" (I, 2). To attribute to Don Juan an attitude of this kind would be to give some support to those critics who, like M. Michaut, insist on the essential unity of the character. In a very ingenious reconstruction M. Michaut has tried to prove that the various elements of Don Juan's character can be blended into a single pattern and that the basic aspects—"le grand seigneur méchant homme," the seducer, the atheist, and even the hypocrite—are shown to us from the very first. What, therefore, seem to be disconnected fragments would, on this view, be parts of a homogeneous whole.

It might be maintained, I think, that our perception of this basic unity of character is apt to be obscured by an unusual method of presentation. Don Juan is rather like a picture shown by means of a number of sharply illuminated facets, which are known to belong to the same object but which are never seen all at once. To put the matter in another way, Don Juan may be said to appear as a man who is playing a number of different roles, each one of which reveals some important aspect of his character. Thus we have the seducer, the aristocrat, the hypocrite, and so on. The use of such an unorthodox method of presentation may have been a kind of experiment, as M. Arnavon says—one which was suggested to Molière by the unusual nature of the subject. This would explain a certain artificiality and stiffness in the portrayal of the main character; but I think that Professor Adam goes too far when he insists that Don Juan is a purely mechanical figure, a mere *fantoche*, for such a description overlooks the deeper human meaning.

Even if we accept the bizarre form of *Don Juan* as an experiment which does not exclude the possibility of serious content, it will still be relevant to ask whether the unity of the character is as great as M. Michaut supposes. In spite of its ingenuity, M. Michaut's analysis does, I think, tend to neglect at least one point to which Kierkegaard's criticism has the merit of calling attention. Kierkegaard is, of course, interested chiefly in the problem of giving an adequate aesthetic expression to the traditional idea of the seducer, and insists mainly on the discordance which exists between Don Juan the seducer, as he is

[10] See M. Arnavon (egoism), Dr. Moore (self-sufficiency), and M. Michaut (pride).

presented historically and verbally, and the active Don Juan of the play. Although it is difficult to resist this conclusion, which has also been drawn by later critics, it could be argued that the question is simply one of dramatic representation and so an aesthetic rather than a psychological issue. Kierkegaard's argument does, however, lead to a more fundamental point concerning the actual consistency of Don Juan's character. In other words, we may ask whether his initial attitude as a seducer is compatible not only with his later activity *qua* seducer but also with his behavior in other kinds of situations.

If attention is first limited to the problem of Don Juan the seducer, it is clear that, although Molière does indicate Don Juan's *méchanceté* from the first, he begins by stressing the traditional idea of the seducer. Don Juan is described as an indiscriminate pursuer of women—the *épouseur du genre humain*—and as a man who still retains something of the basic vitality and exuberance of the traditional character. At times Don Juan is even invested with a certain idealism, as we have seen (I, 2), and the same point is allowed to make a brief reappearance in III, 5, where Don Juan reminds us that his heart "est à toutes les belles." No doubt the delight he experiences in overcoming feminine resistance (I, 2) may simply indicate, as M. Vedel says,[11] the "côté sportif" of his attitude and not any deep-rooted wickedness, as some other critics have suggested. Although the attribution of idealism to the universal *épouseur* may seem a little strange, it can, I think, be aesthetically justified on the grounds that we are here witnessing two aspects of his obsession with the erotic. At the same time, however, Kierkegaard points out that Molière hints at the "reflective seducer" in the scene (II, 5) in which Don Juan's desire is aroused by the sight of two happy lovers. As the play develops, this aspect of Don Juan's character becomes increasingly prominent and is extended from the erotic to other sides of his behavior. In spite of the protests of Professor Adam, it seems to me quite permissible to speak of Don Juan's cruelty, if not "sadism." His egoism is not simply that of an unthinking abandonment to the selfish impulses of the moment (the amorality of the "sensual" seducer who rejoices in his sexual vitality) but that of a more perverted personality which takes pleasure in the thought of inflicting pain on others. There is about Don Juan a kind of ironic detachment which suggests, in Lemaitre's phrase, "le faiseur d'expériences" and the dilettante. The scene with the hermit, his reactions to Elvire, the bullying of Pierrot, the attitude towards his father, and other incidents suggest the cold and implacable egoist who acts and speaks with the elegance and distinction of his class and yet remains the ruthless exploiter of his own desires. If we add to this element

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 364.

of what M. Michaut calls "moral sadism"[12] Don Juan's general attitude towards authority, whether parental, civic, or religious, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that his very virtue of courage makes him a demonic character who willfully rejects all conventional values—except certain aspects of the aristocratic code—in order to remain uncommitted to any principles save those of his own making. As such he is a far more "reflective" character than Kierkegaard had supposed.

Although the portrayal of this reflective attitude is the most interesting and original aspect of Molière's characterization, it does produce a discordance within the person of Don Juan, and the coexistence of the "immediate" and "reflective" reactions towards the same objects results in a certain confusion. Emile Faguet was, I think, aware of this difficulty when, in his *En lisant Molière*, he made the startling suggestion that Don Juan at the end of the play was a middle-aged cynic, whilst the hero of the first act was a kind of youthful Chérubin. Although this point is quite unacceptable in the form in which it is stated, it does call attention to the type of discordance we have just been discussing, because the attitude of the irresponsible "épouseur à toutes mains" does not seem to harmonize with the reactions of the reflective character. It is probable that this discordance is due both to the introduction of traditional elements and (to a less extent) to the actual method of character portrayal through facets. Molière was perhaps struggling in the sphere of characterization with the kind of difficulty which the necessity of using *le merveilleux* had already imposed on him in the question of the play's structure. These heterogeneous aspects—together with the other extraneous features to which we have called attention—should not, however, be allowed to conceal the originality of the "reflective" conception.

Although we may reasonably expect a minimum of human truth in a play which devotes so much care to the portrayal of a main character (and this serious content will not be excluded, it seems to me, by those aspects of the play which, in M. Adam's opinion, transform it into a *parade* and a *pièce à spectacle*), it would probably involve a serious distortion of meaning, as I have suggested, to interpret the portrait in accordance with the strict canons of psychological realism. How then is the comic effect attained, if it is to go beyond the use of stage mechanisms and include the essence of the characters themselves? Here Kierkegaard's reminder of the "moral" aspect of *Don Juan*

[12] It will perhaps be maintained that the reflective attitude, as here defined, often develops out of a spontaneous eroticism and that sadism originates—as many psychiatrists insist—in earlier instinctual and emotional frustrations. Even if this were so, the problem would be to reconcile this viewpoint with the chronological limits of a play which seems to show these features as co-existent and not successive states of mind.

will, I think, be useful, provided we are not misled by certain well-known implications of that term. Although Don Juan expresses a traditional character and a contemporary social type, he is also a particular individual who embodies a general attitude of mind (egoism) which brings him into conflict with certain values which the audience accepts or is persuaded to accept as normal. Kierkegaard is, therefore, right to insist not only on the intrinsic difference between the "sensual" and the "reflective" seducer but also on the different kind of judgment which an audience will make in the case of musical and dramatic representations. In the opera, which relies for its effect upon the musical evocation of a mood defying precise linguistic definition, we shall not be concerned with an intellectual judgment of moral content (although this need not of course exclude an intellectual appreciation of the aesthetic features). But in the play we *judge* the character, not simply in the naive sense of registering our approval or condemnation of a "good" or "bad" man (because from the point of view of aesthetic appreciation this is no more relevant than the much disputed question whether Molière sympathizes with this or that character), but with reference to certain standards of normality to which the description of such a basic attitude must inevitably be compared and with which it is usually seen to conflict.

As Kierkegaard insists, such a conflict may take either a comic or a tragic turn. Within the context of the seduction theme Don Juan, as a force transcending the limits of time and space (hence the 1,003 victims) or as a man whose infinite aspirations are incompatible with the demands of real life, lends himself to comic development; but, as soon as the wider implications of the attitude are grasped (for example, when "sensuality" is confronted by "spirituality," as is usual in a strictly Christian setting of the theme—a point argued at some length by Kierkegaard), the conflict which ensues between the seducer's outlook and the claims of religious principle may assume a tragic form. Thus the traditional dramatic treatment (as it appears in Tirso de Molina, for example) will have something of this tragicomic ambiguity. In developing the "reflective" aspect of Don Juan, in both its inhuman and irreligious implications, Molière necessarily calls attention to the more sinister potentialities of the subject.

The comic proportion is, however, preserved—as Dr. Moore insists[13]—by making Don Juan only one side of a diptych which also includes Sganarelle. It is here that Kierkegaard misses a vital point when he judges the relation of Don Juan and Sganarelle from the

[13] *Op. cit.*, pp. 95-97. Although we must be on our guard against the romantic misinterpretations of Don Juan, Dr. Moore seems to me to exaggerate when he calls Don Juan "more small-minded than the veriest fool." Don Juan's very persistence in his error must surely be taken as revealing a certain courage and resoluteness of purpose, however wrongheaded it may be.

point of view of psychological credibility. Rightly insisting that the relationship differs in important ways from that of Don Juan and Leporello, he fails to see that the principle uniting them is a comic (a morally comic, if we like) and not a psychological one. It does not matter very much whether we accept Sganarelle's explanation that he only continues to serve Don Juan through fear, since his presence is a kind of comic convention (reminiscent in some respects, as Kierkegaard and many other writers have pointed out, of the attachment of Sancho Panza to Don Quixote) which enables Molière to confront one exaggerated human attitude by another which is equally extreme though in the opposite direction. To atheism is opposed superstition, to courage cowardice, to intelligence imbecility, to depravity a relative honesty, and (at the social level) to the aristocrat the plebeian. In other words, the precise nature of the bond uniting Don Juan and Sganarelle is far less important than the confrontation of their basic attitudes, which clash in so many respects and yet ultimately meet in the selfishness of each man.[14] By stressing the antithetic aspect of their relationship Molière is also able to use Sganarelle as a means of preventing the irrationality of Don Juan (which is not always comical) from creating too disturbing an effect. Sganarelle's whole attitude helps constantly to bring the play back to the level of comedy and occasionally of broad farce. His vulgarity, which is perhaps an exaggerated expression of certain features of plebeian life. (Don Juan standing rather for a perversion of aristocratic existence), can scarcely enable him to appear in anything but a comic light. Finally, the Don Juan-Sganarelle relationship helps to confer on the play some kind of structural unity by providing the one fixed point to which all the vagaries of mood, character, and plot can always be referred.

Although the use of this comic principle does not invalidate the point we have already made about the "reflective" aspects of Don Juan, it means that their significance must not be detached from the dramatic principles which give them their interest and vividness.

Kierkegaard is not content merely to criticize Molière's effort to give dramatic expression to the Don Juan theme; for he himself has created his own "reflective" Don Juan whom it will be interesting to compare—in spite of obvious differences—with Molière's hero. Whereas Molière's method is to widen the traditional basis of Don Juan's

[14] See, for a recent view of Sganarelle's character, the remarks of M. Adam (*op. cit.*, III, 331 ff.). For M. Adam Sganarelle has none of the honesty with which he is usually endowed by critics. "Prodigieuse création, toute en dessous et en retours, où le clin d'œil corrige la valeur des paroles, où le ricanement vient démentir et bafouer les phrases édifiantes, figure de coquin et d'imbécile tout ensemble, qui déshonore la vertu par ses moqueries et la religion plus encore par sa stupidité" (p. 333). While we may agree with M. Adam about "l'importance centrale du rôle," he seems to exaggerate the element of deliberate wickedness.

character into a "reflective" attitude that embraces a variety of reactions, which have, however, an increasingly irreligious rather than an erotic emphasis, Kierkegaard restricts himself to the seducer theme and he does so by substituting a new literary genre for the older dramatic form. Judging that his main problem is to describe the "how" rather than the "whom" or "what" of the reflective seducer's outlook, he thinks that this can best be done through the use of a "diary." The result is the "Diary of the Seducer" (*Either/Or*, I, 250-371). In this way he can develop the psychological implications of the subject; for the diary does not merely recount an attempt to gain possession of a particular object but also includes a detailed analysis of the seducer's own reactions. In this respect Kierkegaard, through the "Diary," is trying to illustrate the point already made in the discussion of Molière: "Here the number he has seduced becomes a matter of indifference, what concerns us is the art, the thoroughness, the profound cunning with which he seduces" (*op. cit.*, I, 87).

In spite of obvious differences in aesthetic approach and method of characterization, Molière's Don Juan and Kierkegaard's Johannes, the author of the "Diary of the Seducer," are both examples of the "reflective" attitude; and in this respect they differ from the traditional conception of Don Juan as the embodiment of instinctual passion. Moreover, in each case the cultivation of a calculating and deliberate hostility to moral values results in a fundamental egotism, since Johannes, no less than Don Juan, is a kind of self-sufficient person who repudiates all dependence upon principles which are not grounded in his own being. Unlike Don Juan, however, whose egotism is a general attitude covering a number of reactions (towards women, society, family, religion), Johannes exists, so to speak, on only one plane—the erotic. He is a man whose life is devoted to playing an infinite number of variations on the single theme of seduction. That, no doubt, is why the essential quality of his experience can be conveyed through an account of his relationship to one person—the girl Cordelia.

A further point of interest is connected with what we may call the inner and outer aspects of the seducer's experience. On the one hand, there is Johannes, the public figure to whom Cordelia reacts in a certain way—for example, when she breaks off the engagement—because of her mistaken assumption that this is the true Johannes. Yet this person is only a mask concealing the real being who cunningly determines a course of events which others, thinking that they are dealing with a sincere attitude, suppose to be the result of their own free choice. Hence the external events are accompanied by a commentary which constitutes the seducer's intimate confession.

Although the cleavage between the inner and the outer is clear, as far as the psychological perspective is concerned, the contrast in

the aesthetic expression is equally striking. In the diary the external events and the physical aspects of the main characters are imbued with a curious kind of ambiguity and with an air of unsubstantiality which are largely due to the fact that they are never seen except through the seducer's eyes. Thus they remain impregnated with something of Johannes' own personality and the reader is compelled—almost in spite of himself—to see everything from the diarist's point of view. In the play Molière's dramatic conception of the subject naturally limits the possibilities of introspective meditation; but even here the inner-outer ambiguity of which I have been speaking is not entirely absent, and more than one critic has commented on the enigmatic aspect of Don Juan's character. As a seducer and a hypocrite, Don Juan is a man who plays the part of a deceiver, often presenting a false face to the world and sometimes taking a secret malicious pleasure in the thought of making so many people his dupes. Because of the dramatic form, however, although the spectator has a fuller view of the situation than some of the characters, he too can only see Don Juan from the outside and is forced to interpret his motives in accordance with his understanding of certain words and gestures which are directed by the hero towards other people. In *Don Juan* we approach the events and characters from the outside, whilst in the diary the understanding comes from within the mind of Johannes himself. In each case, however, we are dealing with a "secret" self which differs in many ways from the personality that is revealed to the world.

The effect of the basic egoism of both Don Juan and Johannes is to make them essentially solitary figures. Their refusal to admit any kind of emotional dependence on others means that they are incapable of intimacy. It is significant, for example, that the only stable element in Don Juan's life is his grotesque relationship with Sganarelle, the servant who is his companion and confidant. The relation of other people to Don Juan remains episodic (as is emphasized by the form of the play), and this is not surprising when we recall that for Don Juan other people are, for the most part, mere objects who serve to satisfy or frustrate the strivings of his own will. Johannes' solitude is also not left in doubt. "I have no friend," he says (p. 308). "It never occurred to me," he confesses when he first becomes interested in Cordelia, "to desire a confidant" (p. 278). The young man Edward, whom Johannes treats for a time as his friend, is obviously his dupe. The role of the seducer means absolute loneliness and the development of a monstrous egoism which removes the possibility of all intimacy with another.

The habit of reflection and self-analysis has become so ingrained in Johannes that he seems to lack all spontaneity and is incapable even of the impulsive gesture which leads Don Juan to help a fellow noble-

man in distress. Johannes stands on his guard against any unpremeditated identification with the movement of his desire; for, as soon as he becomes aware of the existence of desire, he suddenly draws back, fearful lest the experience should be marred by an overhasty enjoyment. The pleasures of seduction must be "savoured in slow draughts" (p. 277). Here is nothing of the impetuous Don Juan who still makes his fitful appearance in Molière. We might apply to Johannes Lemaitre's description of Don Juan as a "dilettante" and an "artist in evil," for he seems to consider himself (p. 309) to be a man who enjoys the whole mechanism of seduction more than the act of possession itself (p. 87). It is worth insisting that the excitation of Johannes appears to be cerebral rather than physical, and that he lacks the crude vitality which still remains in Molière's Don Juan. Such indeed is the emphasis placed on the imaginative and mental aspects of his machinations that one might be tempted—were it not that the diary indicates the physical completion of the affair—to suspect an erotic incapacity.[15]

Whatever be the truth of this last point, Johannes' dilettantism is plainly a more refined affair than the aggressive irony of a Don Juan who is still represented as an "épouseur à toutes mains." Johannes' obsession with a more restricted field of activity seems to make him a far more fastidious character, and we cannot imagine him approving of the Mozartian quip: "pur che porti la gonnella, voi sapete quel che fa." Indeed, one of the most significant features of Johannes' attitude lies in his constant insistence upon the purity and innocence of his victims. (Something of this may also be present in Don Juan, and it is not fanciful to suppose that he obtained a perverse satisfaction in enticing Elvire away from the religious life of the cloister; but this is only one episode in Don Juan's amorous career and he was not always so sophisticated in his pleasures). Johannes is attracted to Cordelia mainly because of her youthful innocence (she is only sixteen) and purity.[16] The reason for this choice is not the merely sadistic impulse to destroy chastity (although this motive may of course play a larger role than he is willing or able to admit); for his preoccupation with innocence is tied to a desire that the girl's whole existence should in some sense depend on him, that she should be his own creation, and

[15] In this connection it is worth pointing out that the "diary" is really the work of a writer who all his life was tormented by the "thorn in the flesh," the mysterious idiosyncrasy the exact nature of which was never revealed by Kierkegaard himself but which many of his biographers have judged to be sexual in character.

[16] The idea is constantly stressed. See especially *op. cit.*, I, 268 ("I constantly seek my prey among young girls, not among young women"), 280, 285, 310 ("the girl herself was like a freshly picked blossom"), 313 ("I am intoxicated with the thought that she is in my power. A pure, innocent femininity..."), 314 ("her deep feminine innocence"), 342, and 363.

that her womanhood should be developed solely through her relationship to him. Johannes cannot rest content with mere physical possession, as he admits; the victim must be induced to give herself freely, with the full consciousness of the meaning of all that this act involves —all, that is, save the supreme deception on which it is ultimately based. It is a question of the "most absolute self-surrender" (p. 277). Yet the perversity of Johannes' pleasure lies precisely in the secret knowledge that, whilst the girl is giving everything, he himself is giving nothing of himself in return.

For all this to be possible, Cordelia must pass through a kind of sentimental education; she must experience a carefully graded sequence of emotions which Johannes analyzes with some subtlety. At first Cordelia is quite indifferent to him, and this starting point will no doubt give Johannes the ultimate satisfaction of knowing that he has bent the will of this indifferent person to his own purposes. Then, as she becomes more conscious of his personality, Cordelia experiences only dislike; but the seducer skillfully transforms this aversion into interest and finally into love. Johannes finds support for his attitude in a belief which involves his view of women in general—the belief that woman, "being for another," does not enjoy existence in her own right. A girl, therefore, is induced to develop all the deep emotions of womanhood solely to satisfy a momentary need on the part of a man. It is this fact which forms the basis of Johannes' cruelty and corruption.

Johannes, then, is no mere seducer in the traditional manner. The Don Juan of the plays of Dorimon, Villiers, and Tirso is a violent character who thinks of nothing but the quickest way to the satisfaction of his erotic desire. Molière has indeed brought considerable refinement to this conception; for his hero is an elegant (though dissolute) aristocrat. If he is a more "reflective" character than his predecessors, this attitude is ultimately developed, as we have seen, in a direction which includes far more than the erotic. Kierkegaard's Johannes, however, sheds even the impetuosity which is still apt to move Don Juan; for he is one who has analyzed and systematized his eroticism into a complete philosophy of existence. His life is but a refined and perverse example of the basic principle which animates all forms of the aesthetic life—enjoyment. To this supreme principle everything—including the happiness of others—must be ruthlessly sacrificed.

The stultifying feature of this attitude is due to its incapacity to solve the basic problem of every "aesthetic" existence—time. The seducer can live in only one temporal dimension (the present) and, though he claims that the enjoyment of the present is his supreme pleasure, it is also his torment; for he is always frightened by the

nightmare of boredom.[17] To ward off the threat of satiety and stagnation, the seducer must play upon his single theme with ever greater subtlety. It is, however, the necessity of doing this which constitutes his essential problem; because, from the temporal point of view, the mere fact that his existence always takes place in the present is not enough to give it unity and continuity. His is a discrete existence which is fragmented into a series of unconnected moments, none of which can ever lead to that progressive unfolding of personality which is the prerogative of the truly moral and spiritual life. This means, as Kierkegaard points out in the *Unscientific Postscript,* that "the essential aesthetic principle, namely, that the moment is everything" is ultimately revealed as being "essentially nothing." Or, as he puts it elsewhere in the same work,[18] what Johannes had treated as a conclusion to the problem of existence is in fact only its beginning.

A concluding point of comparison between the human—as distinct from the purely aesthetic—aspects of the two attitudes illustrated by Molière's Don Juan and Kierkegaard's Johannes can be found, I think, in the idea of the "demoniac." Both characters are demoniac in the sense that their "philosophies"—and it is surely no exaggeration to say that they pride themselves on having a philosophy of existence —involve a deliberate repudiation of all spiritual values in the name of a defiant affirmation of selfhood. "Montrons que rien ne me saurait ébranler," says Don Juan, even when others think that someone has come from the dead to show him the error of his ways. "There is a categorical imperative: Enjoy thyself," maintains Johannes. Their irreligion does not spring—as in the case of the traditional Don Juan —from an unheeding abandonment to primordial impulse, but from a cold and rigid detachment which is prompted by the conviction that, in the last resort, there is no greater reality than that of the individual's own will. This demoniac outlook rests ultimately upon an acceptance of solitude which presupposes not the presence but the absence of God.

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[17] See the curious essay "The Rotation Method" (*Either/Or,* I, 231-247), which is a kind of sermon on the text: "boredom is the root of all evil." The essay warns its "aesthetic" readers against the dangers of permanent relationships, whether in the realm of friendship or marriage.

[18] See Kierkegaard's *Concluding Unscientific Postscript,* trans. by D. F. Swenson and W. Lowrie (Princeton, 1941), pp. 226 ff. and p. 265. Johannes the seducer himself makes a final appearance in the section "In Vino Veritas" of *Stages on Life's Way.*

THE BOWER OF BLISS AND ARMIDA'S PALACE

ROBERT M. DURLING

SINCE Koeppel in 1889 called attention to the fact that the Bower of Bliss (*The Faerie Queene*, II, xii) owes much to Armida's palace (*Gerusalemme liberata*, xv-xvi),[1] it has been customary to assume that Spenser merely imitated Tasso in this instance, and not always very skillfully.[2] Ernest de Selincourt remarked in 1912 that, when Spenser borrowed from the Italian poet, "as in his description of the Bower of Bliss . . . he had no need to change the spirit of his model."[3] In 1936 Alberto Castelli went even further; Spenser, he wrote, "seppe copiare il suo modello."[4] Such facile generalizations seem to have had two principal causes. One of the obstacles to a correct understanding of Spenser's methods has been the wide acceptance of the notion that he was at heart of Acrasia's party; one wishes that Mr. C. S. Lewis' admirable discussion of the Bower in the *Allegory of Love*[5] had laid that ghost. The other source of difficulty has been the fact that no one seems to have undertaken a close analysis of the *differences* between the Bower and Armida's palace. This paper attempts such an analysis; I shall examine certain salient changes which Spenser introduced into the material he borrowed from Tasso in the Bower of Bliss. My discussion will be concerned with three principal topics—structure, the treatment of the nature of sensuality and of its cure, and the theme of art versus nature.[6]

[1] E. Koeppel, "Die englischen Tasso-Übersetzungen des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Anglia*, XI (1889), 341-352.

[2] See, e.g., Koeppel, p. 343: "... man wird im vergleich mit dem original Spensers schilderung etwas überladen finden."

[3] *The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser*, ed. J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (Oxford, 1912), pp. xlii-xliii. All citations of Spenser are to this edition.

[4] Alberto Castelli, *La Gerusalemme liberata nella Inghilterra di Spenser* (Milan, 1936), p. 26 and *passim*.

[5] C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love* (Oxford, 1936), pp. 324 ff.

[6] For lists of parallel passages, see Koeppel's article and H. H. Blanchard, "Imitations of Tasso in the *Faerie Queene*," *SP*, XXII (1925), 208-209. Spenser also knew, of course, Ariosto's account of Alcina's palace in *Orlando furioso*, vi-viii and x, and the Bower is closer to it in some respects than to Armida's palace. Acrasia and Alcina are true Circes, while Armida remains virtuous until she falls in love with Rinaldo. Alcina's lovers are transformed into plants, streams, or beasts, and Acrasia's into beasts; but Armida has no lover but Rinaldo, and the beasts outside her palace seem to have no connection with the knights she turns into fish in *G.L.*, x, 65-66. Acrasia is similar to Armida, however, in not owing her beauty to enchantment, as does Alcina. R. E. N. Dodge, in "Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto," *PMLA*, XII (1897), 200, lists only one verbal parallel from Ariosto in the Bower (*O.F.*, x, 39-40: *F.Q.*, II, xii, 56) and H. H. Blanchard, in his unpublished dissertation, "Italian Influence on the *Faerie Queene*" (Harvard, 1921), pp. 105 f., has only one doubtful parallel to add (*O.F.*, vii, 28:*F.Q.*, II, xii, 77). With the possible exceptions of the name Acrasia-Acratia, which is a natural and possibly independent formation from the Greek, and the fact that

Even on the obvious level of physical arrangement, it is clear that Spenser did not "imitate" Tasso in the narrow sense of the term. The elements taken from the Italian poet's description are reshuffled, and much new material is added. Tasso describes in detail the various defenses with which Armida's palace is equipped. It stands on a steep mountain; its approach is guarded by wild beasts; in the plain outside the palace itself is placed the "fonte del riso," the taste of which induces fatally uncontrollable laughter; two sirens are stationed in the lake formed by the fountain's waters; Armida's garden is in the center of a labyrinth of heavy walls. The Bower of Bliss, on the other hand, is almost defenseless.[6a] It is apparently situated at sea level; the walls that enclose it are "but weak and thin . . . Rather for pleasure than for battery or fight" (*F.Q.*, II, xii, 43). In making the Bower so easy of entrance, Spenser may have expected his readers to remember that "wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction." Tasso's fountain with its sirens has been placed inside the Bower itself; the only remnants of the elaborate defenses of Armida's palace are the wild beasts.

Armida's garden is not described as divided into several parts, although it includes a great variety of scenery; Tasso describes it, not as it unfolds itself to the eyes of his knights, but from an omniscient point of view, first (*G.L.*, xvi, 9-11)[7] according to its visual aspects and then (xvi, 12-16) according to its auditory aspects. Then in one stanza (xvi, 17) he conducts the knights through all that he has just described to Armida and Rinaldo. The Bower of Bliss is described almost entirely from the viewpoint of Guyon and the Palmer, and is divided into several distinct parts, each clearly demarcated from the others. The first division is the "faire and spacious plaine" (*F.Q.*, II, xii, 50-53), which corresponds to the plain outside Armida's palace (*G.L.*, xv, 53). By its green grass, flowers, and serene sky, the plain invites Guyon to linger, but he is unaffected by its beauty, and marching on looks "still forward right" (*F.Q.*, II, xii, 53). Tasso, however, allows his stern warriors, who are tired by the climb up the mountain, to relax a bit in the plain (*G.L.*, xv, 55).

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the enchantress is in both cases captured (unlike Alcina or Armida), none of the similarities between the Bower and the palace of Acratia in Trissino's *L'Italia liberata dai Goti*, iv-v, are to my mind so exact or extensive as to warrant the assertion that Spenser was influenced by Trissino (cf. C. W. Lemmi, "The Influence of Trissino on the *Faerie Queene*," *PQ*, VII, 1928, 220-223). Spenser's only important debt in the Bower, then, is to Tasso, and I shall refer to other treatments of the theme only incidentally.

[6a] Spenser apparently thought of the difficulties of the voyage to the Bower (*F.Q.*, II, xii, 2-37) as directed specifically at Guyon and the Palmer, since Mordant, Atin, and Cymochles enter and leave the Bower freely by some other unspecified route (*F.Q.*, II, i, 51, 55; v, 25-28; v, 37-vi, 2).

[7] All citations of the *Gerusalemme liberata* are to the edition by Luigi Bonfigli (Bari, 1930).

The second division of the Bower corresponds to Armida's garden proper; it is "the most daintie Paradise on ground" (*F.Q.*, II, xii, 58-69), which contains not only the picturesque scenery of Armida's garden but the fountain and the sirens. We noted above that Tasso describes first the visual, then the auditory aspects of his garden. Spenser follows this order and separation; but, while in Tasso's account both aspects apply to the garden as a whole, Spenser applies the passages he adapts to different parts of the Bower—the visual description to the second division and the auditory to the third, the Bower proper, the approach to which is heralded by a burst of music (*F.Q.*, II, xii, 70-71). Then Spenser adopts for a moment the omniscient eye, and gives us a glimpse of Acrasia and Verdant, and we hear the song of the rose (II, xii, 72-75). Reverting to the viewpoint of Guyon and the Palmer, he describes the approach to the lovers, and gives a culminating description of them as they are discovered (Stanzas 76-80). This complex arrangement leading up to the climactic picture of Acrasia is quite different from Tasso's rather straightforward progression from one detail to the next.

The fact is, of course, that the Bower is contrived as temptation for anyone who may enter it; and, while Carlo and Ubaldo are immune to temptation, Guyon is accessible to it, and very nearly succumbs. The three divisions of the Bower reflect the progress of successful temptation—that of the soul gradually succumbing to sensuality. In this process the figures of Genius and Excess, which are Spenser's creation, play an important part. At the entrance to the Bower one submits to Genius; since he represents the power of "guileful semblaunts" (Stanza 48), the acceptance of his tutelage may represent an initial willingness or tendency to be governed by the senses (but see p. 341 below). The first stage of sensual pleasure, the plain, is a relatively innocent one; but in its emphatic lavishness it prepares the soul for the acceptance of the wine of Excess (clearly a reference to Ephesians 5:18, as well as to Circe's potion in *Od.*, x), the onset of disproportion and intoxication. While Genius is merely effeminate, Excess is lascivious, and the second division affords, in the bathers, direct sexual provocation. Gratification is shown in the third division, and the condition of the soul in the person of Verdant, who, in contrast to Rinaldo, is not even conscious. Verdant is entirely in Acrasia's power, of course, but the final result of her work is the transformation of men into beasts.

In giving the Bower this tripartite arrangement, Spenser may well have had in mind the famous verse from the first Epistle of St. John, "For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world" (I John 2:16). It is interesting that the three sinful dispositions mentioned in the verse can be applied to the different divisions of the Bower; the

pride of life to the plain, the lust of the eyes to the fountain and its bathers, and the lust of the flesh to Acrasia's grove. Obviously we should not insist heavily upon these distinctions, since all three elements underlie the Bower as a whole.

The final result of the process Spenser describes is quite different from that shown in Armida's palace. Armida, after all, does little more than keep Rinaldo from his duty, whereas Acrasia not only turns men into beasts, but causes their death under shameful circumstances and causes a stigma to be attached to their innocent children (*F.Q.*, II, i, 49-ii, 4).[8] There would seem, then, to be a fundamental difference between the attitudes of the two authors. We have seen how Spenser rearranged Tasso's panorama, and how the changes involved a difference in meaning. The same process can be seen in more detail in the scene at the fountain (which, I may repeat, has an altogether different function in the climactic structure of Spenser's Bower from the one it serves in Tasso's account). The sequence of events as Tasso presents it is as follows (*G.L.*, xv, 58-66):

(1) The two warriors, themselves unnoticed, come upon the girls swimming in the lake, and stop to watch them. (2) One of the girls stands up, still unaware of their presence; her beauty inspires the morning-star and Venus similes. (3) Then she sees the knights, and immediately undoes her hair. (4) Blushing and laughing, she invites them to rest from their toils. (5) The other girl accompanies her words with appropriate looks and gestures. (6) The knights, unaffected, move on.

Spenser gives events in the following order (*F.Q.*, II, xii, 63-69):

(1) Guyon sees the two girls wrestling in the fountain; their beauty evokes the morning-star and Venus similes. (2) Guyon slacks "his earnest pace" and embraces "secret pleasurance." (3) The girls see Guyon. (4) One girl hides herself under the waves, but the other rises "rather higher," and displays herself to Guyon. (5) The other, not to be outdone, stands and undoes her hair, blushing and laughing. (6) Guyon's lust is "kindled," so the bathers increase their "wanton meriments." (7) Guyon is rebuked by the Palmer, and the two move on.

The changes Spenser has made have two principal results. First, they increase considerably the lasciviousness of the bathers. While Tasso calls them "donzellette garrule e lascive," there is nothing particularly lascivious about them except the fact that they are naked; they are merely having a swimming race. Spenser's "damzelles," however, are

[8] We should recall the difference in the mythological scenes carved in the gates of the two gardens. Tasso shows Hercules' servitude to Iole and Antony's defeat at Actium (*G.L.*, xvi, 1-7), both traditional *exempla* illustrating the incompatibility of love and the life of honor. Spenser shows "the famous history / Of Iason and Medea" (*F.Q.*, II, xii, 44-45), an example which draws attention rather to the atrocious acts to which sensuality can lead.

wrestling—performing actions in which the sexual undertone is obvious. Tasso's girls retain at least a modicum of modesty, but Spenser's from the first are shown to be governed by the opposite of that quality. They

> . . . seemed to contend,
> And wrestle wantonly, ne car'd to hyde,
> Their dainty parts from vew of any, which them eyde.
> (*F.Q.*, II, xii, 63)

When Tasso's bather realizes she is observed, she covers her nudity; Spenser's reveals hers. Where Tasso writes,

> Una intanto drizzossi, e le mammelle
> *e tutto ciò che piú la vista alletti*
> mostrò, dal seno in suso, aperto *al cielo*,[9]
> (*G.L.*, xv, 59)

Spenser has,

> But th'other rather higher did arise,
> *And all, that might his melting hart entire,*
> *To her delights,* she *vnto him* bewrayd.[9]
> (*F.Q.*, II, xii, 66)

Tasso's phrase, "ciò che piú la vista alletti," might be translated, "that which most attracts the eye." Attracting the eye and enticing the melting heart are quite dissimilar, and the change is a good index of the difference in intention. There is a placid pictorial beauty about the scene as Tasso presents it, well exemplified by the last line of Stanza 59, "E'l lago a l'altre membra era un bel velo." Spenser changes the line to "The rest hid vnderneath, him more desirous made" (*F.Q.*, II, xii, 66), another good instance of the change in tone. No doubt Tasso's sirens invite the knights to a life of sensuality, but they do so in no lewd or obscene way, as do Spenser's.

The second result of Spenser's changes in this scene is a difference in the responses of the men. Because of the genuine pictorial beauty of the scene, we are not surprised that Tasso's warrior's should be moved "alquanto." Their response seems more aesthetic than sensual, and in any case they remain fundamentally unmoved by "tal dolcezza." The emphatic lewdness of Spenser's bathers, however, introduces a note of distortion into their beauty. For this reason, the moral quality of the act by which Guyon embraces "secret pleasaunce" is quite different from that of Tasso's knights when they stop to watch the bathers. Tasso's warriors incur no blame, but Guyon earns a harsh rebuke from the Palmer.

These considerations lead us into the problem of the broader meaning of the two episodes, and the question of how they reflect the more general preoccupations of the two authors. Tasso himself published an allegorical interpretation of his poem, and this "allegoria del poema" was printed with most editions of the poem, beginning with Bonná's (1581).

[9] All italics are added.

According to the allegory, Armida's enchantments are directed at the appetite, and signify "i fallaci sillogismi che ci mettono innanzi gli agi e i diletti del senso sotto apparenza di bene."[10] In another place Tasso states categorically that there is no "sceleraggine" in any of his warriors, but only "incontinenze, o violenze d'incanti."[11] These statements are ample justification, if any is needed beyond the evidence of the text itself, for interpreting the episode of Armida's palace in terms of the Aristotelian concept of incontinence. Both Rinaldo and Armida are overcome by passion,[12] and the mission of Carlo and Ubaldo represents the reinstatement of reason to control over the appetite, most probably by means of natural persuasion.[13] Although the episode seems rather consistently planned in terms of its allegory, Tasso himself claimed that, as regards the poem as a whole, the allegory was an afterthought, drawn up after most of it had been written.[14] Certainly, in the *Gerusalemme liberata* at least, Tasso did not succeed in reconciling his richly sensuous erotic imagination with his equally intense moral and religious convictions. Much of the interest of the poem springs from the conflict of these elements; the incompatibility of love and duty is one of its fundamental themes. The conflict is exemplified in Tasso's entire treatment of the love of Rinaldo and Armida. He cannot make up his mind whether to share it or condemn it.[15]

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[10] *Prose diverse*, ed. Cesare Guasti (Florence, 1875), I, 303 f.

[11] "Apologia in difesa della *Gerusalemme liberata*," *Prose diverse*, I, 354.

[12] *G.L.*, xvi, 65 ff. Cf. Aristotle, *Ethica Nich.*, VII, 3 (1147ª): "It is plain, then, that incontinent people must be said to be in a similar condition to men asleep, mad, or drunk" (trans. W. D. Ross, in *The Basic Works of Aristotle*, ed. Richard McKeon, New York, 1941).

[13] Both Ariosto (*O.F.*, vii) and Tasso describe the cure of incontinence in terms of magic. Tasso's knights flash before Rinaldo's eyes the magic mirror, in which he sees how his sensuality has degraded him (*G.L.*, xvi, 30). Reason and will, overcome by appetite but fundamentally uncorrupted, apparently need only knowledge in order to overcome incontinence (cf. *O.F.*, x, 59-60; *G.L.*, xiv, 77). The weight of evidence seems to favor the notion that Rinaldo is brought to self-knowledge by purely natural means, especially the fact that the white magic of the hermit (*G.L.*, xiv, 41-42) is a clear allegory of natural truth, originally acquired by the natural reason of the pagans, and now employed by Christians who are guided by providence. If this is so, the mirror must represent the power of rational persuasion.

[14] *Lettere*, ed. Guasti (Naples, 1857), I, 179, 186-189.

[15] Rinaldo has, for instance, a curiously chivalrous attitude toward his temptress even after his reason is restored to control. He says to her at parting:

> "Errasti, è vero, e trapassasti i modi
> ora gli amori essercitando, or gli odi:
>
> ma che? son colpe umane, e colpe usate:
> scuso la natía legge, il sesso, e gli anni...
> Fra le care memorie ed onorate
> mi sarai ne le gioie e ne gli affanni:
> sarò tuo cavalier, quanto concede
> la guerra d'Asia e con l'onor la fede."
> (*G.L.*, xvi, 53-54)

It is hardly necessary to point out the dissimilarity of the attitudes of Tasso and Spenser toward these matters. For Spenser there is no necessary opposition between earthly love and divine love, nor between love and duty. For Spenser physical love, rightly used, is a creative force; through it men and women participate in the cosmic round of creation. The contrast between Agdistes, the Genius of the Garden of Adonis, and the Genius of the Bower (*F.Q.*, II, xii, 47-48), for example, depends upon this idea. At one point Spenser writes of the sexual act as "sacrifice diuine" (*F.Q.*, VI, viii, 42). In short, as Mr. Lewis has so clearly demonstrated, the lust of the Bower is a perversion of the right kind of love. The love of Armida and Rinaldo, on the other hand, seems intended to be representative of passionate love in general.

Of the three sinful dispositions in the verse from the first epistle of St. John quoted above, Spenser gives the lust of the eyes particular emphasis, and some of the most significant changes he made in adapting Tasso serve to introduce it where it was really absent from Tasso's treatment. We have already seen the lewdness of Spenser's bathers, who do not hide themselves "from vew of any, which them *eyde*," and the change from the image of the veil to the note of titillation in Stanza 66. There are other examples. When Tasso's siren undoes her hair, and the poet writes, "Cosí da l'acque e da' capelli ascosa / a lor si volse lieta e vergognosa" (*G.L.*, xv, 61), Spenser adapts as follows: "So hid in lockes and waues *from lookers theft*, / Nought but her louely face she *for his looking* left" (*F.Q.*, II, xii, 67). Tasso writes of Armida in Rinaldo's arms, "Ella dinanzi al petto ha il vel diviso" (*G.L.*, xvi, 20); Spenser expands, "Her snowy brest was bare *to readie spoyle / Of hungry eies, which n'ote therewith be fild*" (*F.Q.*, II, xii, 78). In the same stanza Spenser writes of Acrasia's eyes that with them "she thrild / Fraile harts, yet quenched not."

The note of frustration introduced in these last examples is an essential part of the lust of the eyes, which is, as Mr. Lewis points out, presented as if independent of normal sexual activity. The picture of Cymochles in Canto v is almost an epitome of the lust of the eyes as Spenser understands it, especially the lines which speak of Cymochles' steeping his "wandring thought in deep desire," and stealing snatches of "amorous conceipt" (*F.Q.*, II, v, 34). The lust of the eyes is a technique of exquisite protraction of desire, and depends upon the active workings of the "wandring thought." The mind, in other words, is here actively engaged in corrupting the appetite. Spenser, then, is clearly portraying the condition of intemperance, in which reason itself is corrupt; incontinence, the state in which the appetite overcomes the unwilling reason, is merely the downward pathway to intemperance. The beasts outside the Bower, then, clearly figure intemperance, and

the sleeping Verdant is an example of the transitional state of incontinence.[16]

The distinction between incontinence and intemperance was a common one in Spenser's time; it occurs, for example, in Castiglione's *Courtier*.[17] It also occurs, of course, in the writings of the mediaeval Aristotelians, and originally gained currency through them. There is nothing improbable in the supposition that Spenser knew, let us say, Aquinas' discussion of intemperance or one derived from it;[18] and, in fact, certain aspects of the Bower suggest that he thought of the vice it represents in religious rather than purely ethical terms. There is probably a reference to original sin in the staining of Ruddymane's hands (*F.Q.*, II, ii, 2-3), and Professor A. S. P. Woodhouse has suggested that Maleger's drowning (*F.Q.*, II, xi, 46) represents the action of grace in baptism.[19] These examples are directly relevant to Canto xii, since it is the culmination of the entire book. One of the most significant changes Spenser makes in the material he borrows from Tasso is seen in the song of the rose. Where Tasso writes, "Cogliam d'amor la rosa: amiamo or quando / esser si puote riamato amando" (*G.L.*, xvi, 15), Spenser writes, "Gather the Rose of Loue, whilest yet is time, / Whilest louing thou mayst loued be *with equall crime*" (*F.Q.*, II, xii, 75). Spenser might be echoing Aquinas' discussion of intemperance, where we read, "The intemperate man rejoices in having sinned, because the sinful act has become connatural to him."[20] The Bower of Bliss, as Mr. Lewis says, shows us "the whole sexual nature in disease."[21] It is not merely man's sexual nature which is diseased in the Bower, of course; it is the entire soul—reason, spirit, and appetite. The corruption which the Bower represents is so serious, especially in comparison with that described by Ariosto and Tasso, that it seems certain that Spenser thought of it in terms of sin.

If this is the case, Spenser must have thought of the cure of intemperance in religious terms as well, rather than in the purely ethical terms in which Ariosto and Tasso seem to have presented it. In his discussion of intemperance, Aquinas (whom I quote merely as a representative of the Aristotelian tradition, not as necessarily the source of Spenser's ideas) points out that the correction of intemperance has two aspects: (1) "the inward assistance of grace which quenches concupiscence,"

[16] See note 12 above.

[17] *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. Hoby, Everyman's Library (London, 1928), pp. 269 ff.

[18] H. S. V. Jones, in "*The Faerie Queene* and the Medieval Aristotelian Tradition," *JEGP*, XXV (1926), 283 ff., suggests that Spenser is indebted for certain aspects of his Aristotelianism to the Protestant Thomist Melanchthon.

[19] "Nature and Grace in *The Faerie Queene*," *ELH*, XVI (1949), 221-222.

[20] *Summa theol.*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (New York, 1921), II, ii, Q. 155, Art. 4.

[21] *Allegory of Love*, p. 332.

and (2) "the application of the external remedy of admonishment and correction."[22] The second aspect of the cure clearly corresponds to the actions of Guyon and the Palmer when they take Acrasia and Verdant prisoners, not with a magic shield, but with a naturally fashioned net (*F.Q.*, II, xii, 81), when they apply "counsel sage" to Verdant (Stanza 82), and when Guyon destroys by hard physical work the Bower which had been so carefully devised (Stanza 83—in direct contrast to Armida's palace, which, as already pointed out, is destroyed by Armida as instantaneously as it was built). The other aspect of the cure, the action of grace, seems to be what Spenser means to suggest by the magical freeing of the beasts. Guyon himself is unable to free them; he must ask the Christian Palmer to do so (Stanza 85). Whereupon the Palmer strikes the beasts with his "vertuous staffe," and they become "comely men." Aquinas, of course, had pointed out that the cure of intemperance is more difficult than that of incontinence because of the corruption of reason which characterizes intemperance.[23]

Since Spenser explicitly refers to the application of admonishment to Verdant, it is unlikely that the action of the Palmer's staff represents the workings of natural rational persuasion. The enchantments of Acrasia, whereby the men became beasts, and the workings of the Palmer's staff, whereby the beasts are first calmed (Stanza 40) and then returned to human shape, are the only magical events which occur in the Bower of Bliss; Spenser apparently means to insist upon the powerlessness of the soul to free itself from sin without the aid of grace.[24]

Let us examine further the activity of the mind in the Bower of Bliss. We have already seen its corruption in Cymochles and the beasts; we shall examine it as it creates the Bower itself. Both Tasso and Spenser lay stress upon the theme of art versus nature, but they understand it in ways which are quite dissimilar. The art of Armida's palace is magic. Writing in the tradition of Boiardo and Ariosto, Tasso consciously tried to outdo them in his treatment of the enchantress theme. Part of the novelty of his treatment lay in his Virgilian picture of the pleading Armida, but he also tried to outdo them in his enchantress' magical virtuosity. Armida, at first overcome by her incontinent passion for Rinaldo and later enraged by his departure,

[22] *Summa theol., ibid.*

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] Other considerations support this interpretation. Spenser tells us (*F.Q.*, II, xii, 41) that the Palmer's staff is made of the same wood as Mercury's caduceus. Natalis Comes interprets Mercury as he appears in Homer and Ovid as the power either of human reason or of divine wisdom (*Mythologiae, sive Explicationum fabularum libri decem*, Paris, 1583, I, 447). The Palmer's staff has an obvious similarity to the herb moly, which Hermes gives to Odysseus to protect him against Circe's spells; Comes takes the moly to signify the aid of grace which strengthens men against sensuality (*Mythologiae*, II, 509).

both builds and destroys her palace instantaneously by means of black magic. We have already noted that Spenser did not place the Bower on the summit of a snowy mountain, but at sea level. He changes Armida's magical palace, in fact, into an actual, physical garden, omitting all such magical details as the enchanted bird which, in Tasso's garden, sings the song of the rose (*G.L.*, xvi, 13); in the Bower it is "some one" who sings the "louely lay" (*F.Q.* II, xii, 74).

The art of the Bower of Bliss is not magic. It is true that Acrasia is a sorceress, but Spenser never refers to her enchantments as "art." By art he understands the artistry or artfulness of the human intellect. The Bower is situated in "A place picked out by choice of best aliue / That natures work by art can imitate" (*F.Q.*, II, xii, 42). In other words, it is an actual place which has been chosen, as it were, by a committee of experts, as most suited to their purposes. This interpretation is supported by the fact that Spenser does not, like Tasso, attribute the climatic conditions of the Bower to magic (*G.L.*, xvi, 10); instead, he compares them to those which prevail in other favored spots of the real world (*F.Q.*, II, xii, 42) and reserves the magical concomitance of flower and fruit (*G.L.*, xvi, 11) for the Garden of Adonis (*F.Q.*, III, vi, 42).

While Armida's garden is entirely factitious, the effect of her magic is to make it seem entirely natural:

> Stimi (sí misto il culto è co'l negletto)
> sol naturali e gli ornamenti e i siti.
> Di natura arte par, che per diletto
> l'imitatrice sua scherzando imiti.
> (*G.L.*, xvi, 10)

Nature seems to have grown into the patterns of landscape gardening of her own accord. In the Bower of Bliss, however, the actual craft of gardening, not magic, is seen working against the actual forces of nature:

> One would haue thought, (so cunningly, the rude,
> And scorned parts were mingled with the fine,)
> That nature had for wantonesse ensude
> Art, and that Art at nature did repine.
> So striuing each th' other to vndermine,
> Each did the others worke more beautifie;
> So diff'ring both in willes, agreed in fine.
> (*F.Q.*, II, xii, 59)

Where Spenser seems to be following Tasso most closely, then, he really gives his lines an altogether different meaning. The fact that Tasso uses the word "scherzando" to characterize nature's apparent role in the garden, while Spenser uses the term "wantonesse," is extremely significant. Except for the elements of display in Armida's garden, such as the magical bird, her magic aims at producing the

apparently natural; her palace represents "gli agi e i diletti del senso" in general, the natural pleasures of sense, which to Tasso seem inconsistent with the goals of reason. The art of the Bower, however, seeks to corrupt men by making it seem that nature itself is wanton, although, in Spenser's view, it is not, as is shown by the phrases "striuing each th' other to vndermine" and "diff'ring both in willes." The false conception of nature which the Bower attempts to instill is clearly what Spenser means by the "guileful semblaunts" (*F.Q.*, II, xii, 48) by which the Genius of the Bower induces us "to fall" (i.e., to sin).

One of the aims of the art of the Bower, therefore, is the production of an unnaturally "lauish affluence." Sensual delight is "poured forth with plentifull dispense" (*F.Q.*, II, xii, 42). Like the lewdness of the bathers, the lavishness of the Bower is presented as excessive to the point of destroying nature's true beauty. The plain, for example, is

> . . . goodly beautifide
> With all the ornaments of Floraes pride,
> Wherewith her mother Art, as halfe in scorne
> Of niggard Nature, like a pompous bride
> Did decke her, and too lauishly adorne.
> (*F.Q.*, II, xii, 50)

A second and no less important aim of this art is the production of artifacts and artificial arrangements designed to imitate human sexuality. The Porch of Excess is a good example. It is formed of carefully trained trees and vines:

> No gate, but like one, being goodly dight
> With boughes and braunches, which did broad dilate
> Their clasping arms, in wanton wreathings intricate.
> (*F.Q.*, II, xii, 53)

In the next stanza Spenser adapts Tasso's description of the concomitant flowers and fruits in a significant way. Tasso writes,

> Lussureggiante serpe alto e germoglia
> la torta vite ov'è piú l'orto aprico:
> qui l'uva ha in fiori acerba, e qui d'or l'have
> e di piropo, e giá di nèttar grave.
> (*G.L.*, xvi, 11)

Spenser omits the flowers, but shows grapes in various stages of maturation; then he adds,

> And them amongst, some were of burnisht gold,
> So made by art, to beautifie the rest,
> Which did themselves emongst the leaues enfold,
> As lurking from the vew of couetous gest.
> (*F.Q.*, II, xii, 55)

These lines epitomize the art of the Bower: the golden grapes are

formed by craftsmanship, not magic; they are arranged in such a way as to tantalize the cupidity of the guests; they are the instruments of a conscious, calculated, artificial protraction of desire. Spenser omits the details of Tasso's description which could not apply to an actual vine. He is not describing like Tasso, and Ariosto before him, the illusions of beauty by which the senses overcome the unwilling reason, but rather the way in which the mind shapes actual objects in order to corrupt the appetite.

These remarks apply *a fortiori* to Spenser's fountain. Tasso meant his fountain (*G.L.*, xv, 55-56) to seem a natural mountain spring, and to appeal to the thirst developed in climbing the mountain. Spenser's fountain, however, is obviously not meant to seem natural at all; it is elaborately *manufactured*. Not only is it made of precious metals and paved with gems; its function is that of sexual suggestion conveyed by means of artifacts—the sculptured "naked boyes" and the false ivy.

The Bower of Bliss, then, depicts in a striking way the corrupt application of highly developed techniques. One is tempted to say "of technology," to emphasize the relevance of this poetry to our own problems. For the art of the Bower has a peculiar similarity to certain aspects of the motion-picture and advertising industries. With this analysis of the φαντασικῆ[25] of intemperance, in fact, Spenser has given his treatment of the Circe theme a complexity and relevance unmatched by the more conventional Renaissance treatments of the theme, such as Ariosto's and Tasso's, which do not depart from the traditional use of magic to symbolize the power of the senses.

The extent to which Spenser departed from Tasso's description of Armida's palace in the Bower of Bliss is, I hope, clear. Although Tasso's poetry clearly had a powerful effect upon Spenser's imagination, Spenser remained profoundly original. The Bower of Bliss is an independent creation which uses the materials offered by Tasso; and Spenser, knowing his work would not suffer in comparison with Tasso's, no doubt expected his readers would make the comparison. Spenser's independence is clear, as I have tried to show, in the physical structure of the Bower itself, which mirrors an analysis of sensuality different from Tasso's. I have suggested, finally, that Spenser thought

[25] Spenser probably knew and may have been influenced by Sidney's distinction between the two kinds of art: "For I will not deny, but that man's wit may make poetry, which should be εἰκαστική, which some learned have defined, figuring forth good things to be φαντασική, which does contrariwise infect the fancy with unworthy objects" (*The Defence of Poesy*, ed. A. S. Cook, Boston, 1890, p. 37). Spenser may also have known Plato's discussion in the *Sophist*, where the distinction is made that, while εἰκαστική produces true "likeness," φαντασική produces deceptive "semblances" (F. M. Cornford, *Plato's Theory of Knowledge*, London, 1935, pp. 170 f., 323-329)—a distinction which may have suggested the deceptiveness of the art of the Bower and the "guileful semblaunts" of *F.Q.*, II, xii, 48.

of the processes of moral corruption and redemption shown in the Bower in terms of the Christian concepts of sin and grace, and that the art of the Bower is an outstanding example of Spenser's originality and power as both poet and moralist.

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MARLOWE AND MACHIAVELLI

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IN THE last fifty years of Renaissance scholarship, few names have been coupled more often and with less agreement than those of Christopher Marlowe and Niccolò Machiavelli. Almost the entire range of critical possibility has been covered. Edward Meyer, who began the serious study of Machiavelli's influence in Elizabethan drama and whose errors continue to persist after more than half a century, held that Machiavelli's writings were an important shaping force upon Marlowe's plays. This has been the predominant notion, and has been echoed with variations by Courthope, Rebora, H. S. Bennett, T. M. Pearce, Una M. Ellis-Fermor, and most recently by Harry Levin; some say that Marlowe knew only Gentillet's corrupt version of Machiavelli, whose actual philosophy he tried to perpetuate in his writings.[1] At the other extreme we find Roy W. Battenhouse,[2] who tells us that Marlowe, although he knew Machiavelli's works well, violently disagreed with him and attempted to refute his heretical doctrines. And, finally, writers like Leslie Spence and Paul H. Kocher[3] tell us that there is no connection whatever between the two figures, that Marlowe probably never even read Machiavelli, and that if he did the Florentine left no distinguishing mark upon his plays. In this welter of contradiction, what shall one believe?

Much of the difficulty, it seems to me, springs from certain popular errors and false assumptions which appear, with varying degrees of intensity, in almost everything that is written on the subject of Machiavelli in Elizabethan England. The Marlowe confusion is only part of a greater confusion. There has been, to begin with, a tendency to limit consideration of Machiavelli to *The Prince* and to treat that book out of its context in the entire body of Machiavelli's political thought. This has led to a lamentable distortion of Machiavelli. For, as Lord Acton

[1] Edward Meyer, *Machiavelli and the Elizabethan Drama* (Weimar, 1897), pp. 33-34; W. J. Courthope, *A History of English Poetry* (London, 1920), II, 405-421; Piero Rebora, *L'Italia nel dramma inglese (1558-1642)* (Milan, 1925), pp. 175 ff.; H. S. Bennett, ed., *The Jew of Malta and The Massacre at Paris* (London, 1931), pp. 12-14; T. M. Pearce, "Christopher Marlowe—Figure of the Renaissance," *University of New Mexico Bulletin*, I (1934), 13-16; Una M. Ellis-Fermor, *Christopher Marlowe* (London, 1927), pp. 88 ff.; Harry Levin, *The Overreacher* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), pp. 37-38 and *passim*.

[2] *Marlowe's Tamburlaine, A Study in Renaissance Moral Philosophy* (Nashville, 1941), pp. 206-216.

[3] Leslie Spence, "Tamburlaine and Marlowe," *PMLA*, XLII (1927), 604-622, and "The Influence of Marlowe's Sources on *Tamburlaine I*," *MP*, XXIV (1926), 181-199; Paul H. Kocher, *Christopher Marlowe, A Study of His Thought, Learning, and Character* (Chapel Hill, 1946), pp. 194-202.

pointed out many years ago,[4] the key to any understanding of the *Prince* is the *Discourses*; the smaller work prepared for a specific occasion cannot be read outside of the larger work from which it was abstracted. To speak of Machiavelli, as some do, without reference to the central political principles out of which his work proceeded—the theory of the mixed state, the cyclical theory of governments, the doctrine of the lawgiver, and the return to original principles—is not to speak of Machiavelli at all.

But perhaps the greatest shortcoming has been a failure to distinguish sufficiently between Machiavelli's own ideas and the popular perversion of them which was widespread both upon the continent and in Elizabethan England. Una Ellis-Fermor, for instance, regards Barrabas in *The Jew of Malta* as an embodiment of the Machiavellian ideal which merely omits "the faint, ulterior purpose, that of benefiting the state, which was at least in the beginning, the motive of Machiavelli's *Prince*" (p. 90). The error is perpetuated by Leslie Spence, John Bakeless, and F. S. Boas,[5] although Battenhouse (p. 212) and Kocher (p. 194), it is true, have made some attempt to counteract it; and Levin (p. 61), who rightly sees Marlowe as sharing some of Machiavelli's most basic philosophical premises, has called the distortion in *The Jew of Malta* a deliberate one of which Marlowe was entirely aware.

The essential point which writers like Una Ellis-Fermor and F. S. Boas fail to grasp is that what we have in Barrabas, the popular "Machiavel," the villain for the love of villainy, the almost superhuman artist in fraud, dissimulation, and murder, is an idea which has little relation to Machiavelli's thought. It is an idea which has a history and a life of its own. It existed side by side in Renaissance Europe with Machiavelli's actual political philosophy. Moreover, popular "Machiavellianism" cannot be attributed to inaccurate reporting of Machiavelli's doctrine in the *Contre-Machiavel* of Innocent Gentillet, although that document is a classic presentation of the perversion. "Machiavellianism" was a term indiscriminately applied to any villainous behavior, whatever its source. The "Machiavel" stereotype probably began, as I have elsewhere indicated,[6] in a popular misunderstanding of Machiavelli, and was aided by attacks from the Church, both Catholic and Protestant. It was, however, given its greatest popularity and development upon the Elizabethan stage, where, for dramatic purposes, the name of Machiavelli and the already emerging stereotype of his doctrine were fused with two already popular dramatic traditions, that of

[4] Introduction to *Il Principe*, ed. L. Arthur Burd (Oxford, 1891), pp. 14 ff.

[5] Leslie Spence, *PMLA*, XLII (1927), 604-622; John Bakeless, *Christopher Marlowe* (New York, 1937), pp. 183-184; F. S. Boas, *Christopher Marlowe* (Oxford, 1940), p. 136.

[6] "The Significance of Gentillet's *Contre-Machiavel*," *MLQ*, X (1949), 153-157. See also Mario Praz, "Machiavelli and the Elizabethans," *Proc. of the British Academy*, XIV (1928), 49-97.

the Senecan "villain-hero" and that of vice of the morality and the devil of the miracle plays. Marlowe, with Kyd, was among the most important perpetuators of this "pseudo-Machiavellian" burlesque stage tradition. Its relation to Machiavelli's political doctrine does not go much beyond its borrowing of the Florentine's name.

Some scholars who have recognized the completeness of this distortion of Machiavelli's philosophy have held that it was the only meaning that Machiavelli could have for Elizabethan Englishmen.[7] We know now, however, that that is not so. There is ample evidence that Machiavelli's own writings were widely read in sixteenth-century England, both in the original and in excellent translations, and we know that in many quarters his ideas were highly respected.[8] Early in the reign of Edward VI, William Thomas acknowledged his indebtedness to Machiavelli in his *History of Italie*, and translated from Machiavelli's *Discourses* in his own letters of advice to King Edward VI.[9] Alberico Gentili, who came to England in 1580 and as Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford profoundly influenced the course of English jurisprudence, included an apology for Machiavelli in his *De legationibus libri tres*, published in London in 1585. Machiavelli's actual ideas, whether or not they were associated with Machiavelli, appear often in Elizabethan political writings.[10] And it is almost inevitable that they

[7] See, for instance, L. Arnold Weissberger, "Machiavelli and Tudor England," *Political Science Quarterly*, XLIII (1927), 589-607; E. M. W. Tillyard, *Shakespeare's History Plays* (New York, 1946), pp. 21-23; F. P. Wilson, *Marlowe and the Early Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1953), p. 62.

[8] For Gabriel Harvey's statement that they were much in demand at Cambridge, see *The Letter Book of Gabriel Harvey*, ed. E. J. F. Scott (London, 1884), pp. 79-80. We have the evidence of at least three distinct and unrelated English translations of *The Prince* completed before 1585, now extant in seven manuscripts, and of at least one translation of the *Discourses*. See N. Orsini, *Studi sul Rinascimento italiano in Inghilterra* (Florence, 1937), pp. 1-19; Hardin Craig, ed., *Machiavelli's Prince: An Elizabethan Translation* (Chapel Hill, 1944), pp. xiii-xxxii. There is no telling how many such manuscript translations have perished. The demand for Machiavelli's works in England is further demonstrated by the evidence of John Wolfe who, at great personal risk, printed Machiavelli's works in England with falsified Italian title pages. See Adolph Gerber, *Niccolò Machiavelli: Die Handschriften, Ausgaben seiner Werke im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Gotha, 1912), II, 83-85. French and Latin translations were also available.

[9] Printed in John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials* (Oxford, 1922) II, part 2, pp. 365-393. See E. R. Adair, "William Thomas, A Forgotten Clerk of the Privy Council," in *Tudor Studies Presented to A. F. Pollard*, ed. R. W. Seton-Watson (London, 1924), pp. 133-160.

[10] On Ralegh's use of Machiavelli, see Nadja Kempner, *Raleghs staatstheoretische Schriften: Die Einführung des Machiavellismus in England* (Leipzig, 1928); Vincent Luciani, "Ralegh's *Discourse of War* and Machiavelli's *Discorsi*," *MP*, XLVI (1948), 122-131. On Bacon see N. Orsini, *Bacon e Machiavelli* (Genoa, 1936); Vincent Luciani, "Bacon and Machiavelli," *Italica*, XXIV (1947), 26-40. See also Georg Ellinger, "Thomas Morus und Machiavelli," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Kultur und Litteratur der Renaissance*, II (1887), 17-26, a pioneer study of common Renaissance attitudes shared by Machiavelli and Sir Thomas More.

should. Not only was Machiavelli widely read, but many of the forces which shaped his work were present also in Elizabethan England, and the classical and mediaeval sources out of which much of his work proceeded were also the sources of Elizabethan political thought.[11]

There is, in fact, a peculiar ambivalence which must be considered in any discussion of Machiavelli in Elizabethan England.[12] On the one hand, we find the name of Machiavelli used as a symbol for all that is evil for Elizabethan Englishmen and as a tag for the villains of stage and fiction. On the other hand, we find Machiavelli's thought widely paralleled in Elizabethan political writings, even by those very writers who at other times make free use of the popular stereotype of Machiavellianism. It is with this ambivalence clearly in mind that we must approach the study of Machiavelli and Marlowe; for in Marlowe we find it perfectly reflected. On the one hand, we find in Marlowe's serious political thought, particularly in *Tamburlaine*, about as close an approximation of Machiavelli's central premises and conclusions as anywhere in Elizabethan writings. On the other hand, we have the classic example of popular "Machiavellianism" in *The Jew of Malta*.

The problem cannot be adequately approached from the point of view of mere source identification. Whether or not Marlowe actually used Machiavelli in the composition of his plays is, after all, a relatively minor question. The major problem is one of intellectual history, that of the light which Marlowe's plays may throw upon the place of Machiavelli's doctrine in the Elizabethan intellectual milieu. It is not enough to say, as does Paul H. Kocher (p. 194), that there is no evidence that Marlowe ever used Machiavelli's writings. Whether he used them or not, there is a relationship between the two men, and their relative positions in intellectual history must be further delineated. We may see this relationship most clearly through a study of *The Jew of Malta* and *Tamburlaine*.

The Jew of Malta is the play about which most discussion of the problem has centered. Some critics have called it a defense of Machiavelli's doctrine, others have called it an attack upon Machiavelli's doctrine; actually it is neither. In this play Machiavelli himself appears to speak a prologue, and this play, perhaps more than any other, created the model for what was to be one of the most popular stock characters of the Elizabethan and Jacobean stage, the Machiavellian villain. The pseudo-Machiavellian aspects of Barrabas have been well commented

[11] See Allan H. Gilbert, *Machiavelli's Prince and its Forerunners* (Durham, 1938); Georg Ellinger, "Die antiken Quellen der Staatslehre Machiavellis," *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, XLIV (1888), 1-58.

[12] This I have tried to make clear in my studies of Sir Philip Sidney: "Machiavelli and Sidney's *Discourse to the Queenes Majesty*," *Italica*, XXVI (1949), 177-187; "Machiavelli and Sidney: The *Arcadia* of 1590," *SP*, XLVII (1950), 152-172; "Sidney's *Arcadia* and the Machiavelli Legend," *Italica*, XXVII (1950), 225-235.

upon; they need no further illustration here. What does need to be emphasized is that they are pseudo-Machiavellian. They bear no relation to anything Machiavelli ever wrote; they cannot be conceived of either as an answer to Machiavelli or as an attempt to popularize Machiavelli. They are, as Levin has pointed out (p. 61), a deliberate distortion for sensationalist purposes. Marlowe is creating a stage villain with no real political intentions.

The only direct mention of Machiavelli in the play is the name of the speaker of the prologue. It is quite possible that this prologue was written after the rest of the play, that it was an afterthought in which Marlowe attempted to capitalize upon popular anti-Machiavellian feeling, just as in writing the play, as has been suggested, he capitalized upon popular anti-Semitic feeling. In the prologue there are stated only three principles which can in any sense be called political. They are the following:

> (1) I count Religion but a childish Toy,
> And hold there is no sinne but Ignorance.
> (2) Many will talke of Title to a Crowne,
> What right had Caesar to the Empire?
> Might first made Kings.
> (3) Hence comes it, that a strong built Citadell
> Commands much more than letters can import.

Kocher (pp. 196-200) has already demonstrated that not one of these principles is stated in any of Machiavelli's works. In *Discourses*, Book I, Chapters xi and xii, religion is described, not as "a childish toy," but as one of the chief causes of the prosperity of Rome and as an essential factor in the well-being of any state. In the second chapter of the first book of the *Discourses*, Machiavelli offers a doctrine of the origin of kingship quite different from that suggested in Marlowe's prologue; and in *The Prince*, Chapter xxii, and in *Discourses*, Book II, Chapter xxiv, he argues that fortresses are harmful and should never be relied upon by a prince. Thus all three of the "Machiavellian" principles stated in the prologue are directly contradicted by Machiavelli himself. The prologue was, in fact, translated from Gabriel Harvey's Latin poem, *Epigramma in effigiem Machiavelli*, which was in turn based upon Gentillet.[13]

In the action of Barrabas, a character supposed by so many critics to have been cast in Machiavelli's mold, there is equally little than can be traced to anything in Machiavelli's writings. For the most part his activity involves no political decisions. The one political action he does undertake, however, during his brief rule as Governor of Malta, is in direct contradiction to some of Machiavelli's most often stated maxims. This occurs when Barrabas enters into a conspiracy with Fernese, his

[13] Meyer, p. 22.

bitter enemy, in order to overthrow Calymath, the Turkish conqueror of Malta. Barrabas here disregards at least two of Machiavelli's precepts. Not only does Machiavelli warn against alliances with princes who have no power of their own (*Discourses*, II, xi), but one of his most constant precepts is that a former enemy, or one who has been injured in any way, must never again be trusted (*Discourses*, III, xvii, etc.). In trusting Fernese, Barrabas, in very un-Machiavellian fashion, invites his own disaster.

Thus *The Jew of Malta*, although it is a classic example of Elizabethan "Machiavellianism," contains absolutely no reflection of Machiavelli's own ideas. There is no evidence, furthermore, that Marlowe in writing the play had any political purposes whatsoever. In *Tamburlaine*, however, we have a history play, and one of the functions of such plays was to deal with political problems.[14] *Tamburlaine* presents important political doctrine, and doctrine very close to Machiavelli's actual thought.

Roy W. Battenhouse ((pp. 206-216) has drawn up an imposing list of parallels between Tamburlaine's conduct and the maxims in Machiavelli's *Prince*. The parallels are convincing, and Battenhouse may be correct in holding that Marlowe drew directly upon the *Prince*, although many of the ideas are commonplace. But if he did use Machiavelli directly, for what purpose did he do so?

Marlowe uses Machiavelli's political precepts, I believe, because they are his precepts as well, because they fit perfectly into the general political thesis which the play in its entirety embodies. To regard Tamburlaine as a villain is to render the play absurd and meaningless. "The novelty, the unique individuality of Tamburlaine," writes Levin (p. 33), "lay in the fact that his was a success story." Tamburlaine is intended as a conquering hero, and one who represents a Renaissance ideal of conduct which there is every evidence that Marlowe espoused.

We see this clearly when we consider Marlowe's play in relation to its sources. For Marlowe's is only one of a long series of glorifications of the Mongol conqueror, and Marlowe's treatment carries on the traditions established by its forerunners. The history of the Tamburlaine legend in Western Europe has been studied extensively by Professor Eric Voegelin.[15] He points out that Tamburlaine, as the conqueror of the Turks at Ankara in 1402, and thus the savior of Western Europe from Islam, had become a hero to the Christian world. His story was told by a long line of Italian humanist historians, beginning with Poggio

[14] See Irving Ribner, "The Idea of History in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*," *ELH*, XX (1953), 251-266; "The Tudor History Play: An Essay in Definition," *PMLA*, LXIX (1954), 591-609.

[15] "Das Timburbild der Humanisten," *Zeitschrift für öffentliches Recht*, XVII, No. 5; "Machiavelli's Prince: Background and Formation," *Review of Politics*, XIII (1951), 142-168.

Bracciolini,[16] who extolled Tamburlaine as a modern hero whose exploits could rank with those of the greatest heroes of Greece and Rome. Aeneas Silvius, Battista Fregoso, Paolo Giovio, Pedro Mexía, Louis Leroy, and Petrus Perondinus all joined in the eulogy.

In all of these accounts Tamburlaine is exalted as the man of destiny, the conqueror who, by his own unique abilities, can master fortune long enough to revitalize corrupt government and create empires. Fortune, however, must eventually cut him off at the height of his career; for, although Fortune may be mastered for a time by the man who can adapt his actions to changing conditions, as Machiavelli explains in *The Prince*, Chapter xxv, all men are mortal and thus Fortune will ultimately triumph. The great man, however, will be cut off at the very peak of his glory; for as long as he lives he can control Fortune and avoid adversity.

Tamburlaine in these accounts is, in short, the symbol of Renaissance *virtù*, precisely the type of leader whom Machiavelli saw as capable of reforming a corrupt Italy, unifying it, and expelling its foreign invaders. Poggio's account of Tamburlaine is, as Voegelin puts it, "the first 'Mirror for Princes' of an age in which the meaning of power and and politics is demoniacally narrowed down to the self-expression of the individual."[17]

The myth of a hero beyond good and evil, ruthless in his quest for power, became a significant part of Italian Renaissance tradition. The important fact is that Machiavelli himself was strongly influenced by the myth of such a leader. As Voegelin has shown,[18] Machiavelli drew upon it fully in his *Life of Castruccio Castracani*, whose career he made to parallel that of Tamburlaine, even going so far as to endow him with a lowly birth, when he was in fact of noble ancestry. And, perhaps most significant, this legend was one of the cardinal elements which went into the composition of *The Prince* and into the framing of Machiavelli's entire doctrine of the lawgiver. Machiavelli drew directly upon the hero myth embodied in the Tamburlaine legend for his concept of the man who could restore Italy to greatness.

Marlowe's play treats Tamburlaine completely within the tradition developed by the humanist historians. All of their eulogies of Tamburlaine were available to him at Cambridge.[19] Only when we read the play in the light of the history of the legend at its basis does it have real unity and meaning. Marlowe's Tamburlaine is essentially that of Poggio Bracciolini and his followers, and he is also the type of man whom Machiavelli envisaged as the savior of Italy. A significant relation between Mar-

[16] *De varietate fortunae libri quattuor* (Paris, 1713), pp. 25 ff.
[17] *Review of Politics*, XIII (1951), 161.
[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 153-168.
[19] See John Bakeless, *The Tragicall History of Christopher Marlowe* (Cambridge, 1942), I, 204-238.

lowe's *Tamburlaine* and Machiavelli's *Prince* is that they both draw in large part upon a common ideological source.

Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* glorified *virtù*, just as Machiavelli had glorified it. Like Machiavelli, Marlowe denies the role of providence in human affairs and asserts that the hero of history is he who can master Fortune and bend her to his will, although, like both Tamburlaine and Castruccio Castracani, he must ultimately be cut off by Fortune at the height of his achievement. Tamburlaine is victorious in his enterprises in spite of the opposition of the gods whom he defies. Tamburlaine's death is not his punishment by the gods, as some have maintained. It is his final cutting off by Fortune in a manner which had become a traditional part of the Tamburlaine hero myth. Marlowe and Machiavelli espouse a common philosophy of history as the working out in human affairs, not of God's will, but of the will of the human hero.[20] And the hero is conceived of by both in similar terms. This humanistic philosophy of history had been a part of the Tamburlaine legend as it came down through the Italian historians.

Marlowe is noteworthy in his age for a peculiar doctrine of kingship, which Kocher has noted (pp. 175-176) not only in *Tamburlaine* but in *Dido, Queen of Carthage* as well. Tudor political theorists generally held that a king was responsible only to God, but that God would inevitably destroy the king who did not rule for the good of his people and in accord with the natural law of justice.[21] Marlowe's king, however, is completely absolute. He holds his office not by divine appointment but by his own merits, and he is responsible to no one but himself. He has complete power over the lives of his subjects, and he rules outside of law, either human or divine. This was an unusual concept in Elizabethan England. But it is Niccolò Machiavelli's concept of the lawgiver, the one great leader who can restore a corrupt state to virtue by returning it to its original principles, but who, while effecting his reforms, may rule outside of law and with complete authority.

Since, both in its general philosophy of history and in its particular idea of kingship, Marlowe's play conforms to Machiavelli's doctrine, it is not surprising that we should find the parallels between Tamburlaine's conduct and Machiavelli's precepts which Battenhouse has noted. All fit into a harmonious whole which we cannot doubt was the serious purpose which Marlowe designed *Tamburlaine* to effect.

When we consider the *Jew of Malta* and *Tamburlaine* together, we thus have an epitome of the peculiar role of Machiavelli in Elizabethan thought. On the one hand there is the popular stage burlesque; on the other there is a serious exposition of his actual philosophy.

In none of Marlowe's other plays do we find the features of the

[20] I have developed these points at some length in *ELH*, XX (1953), 251-266.

[21] W. A. Armstrong, "The Elizabethan Concept of The Tyrant," *RES*, XXII (1946), 161-168.

Machiavellian hero so completely and accurately delineated as we do in *Tamburlaine*. But the type, in its general outlines, nevertheless persists in such figures as the Duke of Guise and the Earl of Mortimer. As Marlowe developed as a dramatist, he developed new insights into his characters. He saw them as men, rather than as prototypes of a mythical superman. His zeal for their Machiavellian features was apparently tempered by other considerations. In the second part of *Tamburlaine*, we already begin to see faint signs of Marlowe's disillusionment with Machiavellian philosophy, and by the time of *Edward II* he appears to have abandoned almost entirely the philosophy he had so eagerly espoused in *Tamburlaine*. It is perhaps a sign of this development that, when he wrote *The Jew of Malta*, he was able to draw upon the popular burlesque tradition of "Machiavellianism" and use it for all that it was worth.

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BOOK REVIEWS

METAPHYSICAL, BAROQUE AND PRÉCIEUX POETRY. By Odette de Mourgues. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953. viii, 184 p.

Mlle de Mourgues says that "a whole book could be written simply by collecting the different uses of the word baroque in literary criticism and indicating the weak points of the theories about this term." Enough in any case is contained in two essays by Giuliano Briganti in *Paragone* (Florence, Nos. 1 and 3, 1950) to show that in art criticism the word baroque has been asked to cover so many aspects that one wonders whether the term is after all like one of those solemn gates one meets now and again in the Roman Campagna, which provoked from Vernon Lee (in *Limbo*) this remark: "Facing the road, between solemnly grouped cypresses or stately marshalled poplars, a gate of charming hammered iron standing open between its scroll-work masonry and empty vases, under its covered escutcheon. The gate leads to nowhere." However Mlle de Mourgues apparently does not read Italian and therefore, even had she known of it, could not have used Briganti's debunking of the various theories about "baroque," and his limiting the use of the word to a generation of artists who reached the apex of their careers in Rome about 1630. The limits of Mlle de Mourgues's information are sufficiently indicated when one realizes that in a book on "baroque" she mentions Marino only three times (once in the text, indirectly—Marinism—and twice in short footnotes) and quotes Croce only in a footnote, reporting his text through a French intermediary.

What actually interests her is not the term "baroque," in which she sees just "a distortion of the universe through sensibility," typified in the famous St. Teresa by Bernini. It is a pity she had completed her book before the publication of Jean Rousset's *La Littérature de l'âge baroque en France* (Paris, 1953), because she would have found there a better guide than Professor Austin Warren's derivative description of Bernini's St. Teresa to the significance of "baroque," with its stress on movement, ostentation, metamorphosis, and its roots in Rome (rather than in Spain, as Professor Strich would have it). As restlessness is in the very nature of the baroque, its meaning cannot be pinned down to Mlle de Mourgues's narrow definition.

"Le Baroque est multiforme," writes M. Rousset, "il est dans son génie de s'évanouir sous la prise et de réapparaitre, tel Protée, sous une forme nouvelle; sa définition veut qu'il soit rebelle à la définition. Raison de plus pour s'armer de sûres critères et ne plus les lâcher; nous les avons établis à partir du Bernin et de Borromini—non sans nous souvenir de Wölfflin—dans la conviction que c'est là, à Rome, dans l'art de ces architectes et sculpteurs, que le Baroque a sa source. C'est toujours à cette définition que nous nous reportons quand il s'agit de serrer de près le phénomène et de le distinguer de ce qui n'est pas lui."

For Mlle de Mourgues, on the contrary, the baroque is only the scapegoat of whatever faults of taste disgraced that age: "I should like to limit the meaning of the term baroque and to apply it only to the poetry in which, although the problems of the age are reflected, the perfect poise between intelligence and sensibility is either destroyed or not achieved or not attempted, with the result that the poet has a distorted vision of life, distorted through imagination and sensibility, without any apparent care for proportions or balance. Two comments should perhaps be made: first, that a 'distorted' vision may, of course, carry its own poetic value,

and, secondly, that I take sensibility in the widest connotation of the word, including the senses as well as the emotions." Having thus disposed of the troublesome and, at any rate, one surmises, to her rather distasteful term baroque, Mlle de Mourgues can lavish her favors on her pets: metaphysical and *précieux*, an English and a French term, between which she would like to establish an *entente cordiale* to the exclusion of their wayward southern cousin, baroque. Since to all appearances Maurice Scève and Jean de Sponde have characteristics in common with Donne, French terminology would benefit considerably by adopting the English term "metaphysical poetry"; on the other hand there is no better word than *précieux* to describe the style of Lyly, Sidney, etc. But, once a term is taken out of its native ground, there is no telling how strange may become its career. The destiny of baroque ought to be a warning to its relatives, metaphysical and *précieux*, to be very careful before they venture beyond their respective countries. If Scève is metaphysical, then he is not the first of that line of poets, as Mlle de Mourgues maintains (p. 12), because the strain of passionate paradoxical reasoning is to be found, for instance, in a sonnet of Petrarch which I have pointed out as supplying the pattern of "The Extasie":[1] "Quando giunge per gli occhi al cor profondo." And *préciosité*, as Mlle de Mourgues admits (p. 140), existed already in the Italian courts of the Renaissance (Tebaldeo, Serafino Aquilano, etc., poets whom A. d'Ancona called *seccentisti del Quattrocento*).

But would much be gained by making "metaphysical" and *précieux* into categories applicable to any nation and age, and, worse still, by transforming them from mere categories of taste into criteria of aesthetic value? Others with equal or even greater right have tried to give general validity to the term "mannerism"[2] (for instance Mr. Wylie Sypher has in the press a book on Donne and mannerism, and Dr. Giorgio Melchiori has written on mannerism in English literature in a periodical which few foreign scholars are likely to have seen, *Lo Spettatore italiano* for May 1954). The extension of the terminology of the arts to literature has become very fashionable nowadays, and there is no denying that it may lead to a better appreciation of the temper of a given period, though analogies of themes are too obvious to need stressing,[3] and what is really interesting is analogy of treatment (as, for instance, in a parallel between Picasso and Joyce). M. Rousset's book is, I think, a felicitous instance of how a start from the visual arts can assist the appreciation of literature. For him "le Précieux est l'amenuisement du Baroque. Quand il se réduit à la taille du bibelot en architecture et du jeu de société en littérature, le Baroque tourne au précieux." And could not "metaphysical" be called a "Baroque inchoatif et entravé," that is, a form of mannerism—like the works of d'Aubigné, Sponde (that Donne *manqué*), Gryphius, and even, let us say with bated breath, of Michelangelo, whom M. Rousset lists under that heading? To which one could add Donne's dialectical, paradoxical slant of mind which stamps his poems with a dramatic character and produces a continuous

[1] See my essay on "Donne's Relation to the Poetry of his Time" in *A Garland for John Donne*, ed. T. Spencer (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), p. 65.

[2] I am unable to see why Mlle de Mourgues (p. 3) should call mannerism "an offspring" of baroque, when she knows very well that the former precedes the latter in time.

[3] Such are the cases of H. A. Hatzfeld, *Literature through Art* (New York, 1952), and Giuliano Pellegrini, *Barocco inglese* (Messina-Florence, 1953), in which Massinger's *Virgin Martyr* is compared with a painting by Jacopo Ligozzi, *Martirio di santa Dorotea*.

shifting from one to another level of experience, similar to the effect obtained by the mannerists' adoption of the *linea serpentinata*.[4]

Perhaps one might venture to suggest that metaphysical, in consequence of the revaluation of Donne in our century, has enjoyed a fortune like that of Tom Jones, of whom Thackeray wrote: "Too much of the plum cake and rewards of life fall to that boisterous swaggering young scapegrace." Metaphysical is nowadays invested by most critics (of whom Mlle de Mourgues is one) with a dignity and a status which baroque seems to lack. "The point is: will a baroque poet sometimes put a check on his sensuous visions, love of decorative imagery, and over-indulged emotions, in order to get at a real problem, thus attaining a sort of equilibrium between the intellectual and emotional requirements of his temperament? If so, his poetry will very often move from the baroque to the metaphysical" (p. 84). Such distinctions seem to renew in our century the spirit of the eighteenth-century discussion on the sublime, the beautiful, or the merely picturesque. The fact that many artists can be envisaged from different points of view like "perspective pictures" painted on a corrugated surface ought to make one ponder seriously on the advisability of so much hairsplitting. Milton may appear neoclassical to me, baroque to Mrs. M. Bottrall; to Mlle de Mourgues Corneille is far from the baroque spirit, to M. Rousset he is the typical representative of the way in which the baroque was received in France: "A partir d'un double germe baroque, le change et la feinte, Corneille développe un théâtre contradictoirement chargé de Baroque et d'antibaroque: sur le change, il édifie un héros qui tente de s'établir hors de l'inconstance et de se fixer dans l'inaltérable; mais cet effort même le conduit à accuser un caractère baroque: l'ostentation, qui est une valeur de décoration." Thus Corneille's reaction to the baroque is parallel to "la réception du Baroque architectural en France, qui tend à rejeter la mobilité tout en maintenant le décoratif."

The same poet may be metaphysical, baroque, or *précieux*; the same *concetto* may belong to any one of these categories, as can be seen by comparing Marino's pun on the bloodstained stones which killed St. Stephen (they "blush" for the murderers of the saint) with Théophile's similar and notorious pun in *Pyrame et Thysbé* ("Ha! voicy le poignard qui du sang de son maistre S'est souillé laschement: il en rougit, le traistre"), and Crashaw's epigram on Pilate washing his hands with his other deservedly celebrated epigram on the Marriage at Cana, where the line "Nympha pudica Deum vidit, & erubuit" seems to express *in nuce* the emotion of Nature before her Creator, the intimate and vehement relation between the natural and the divine.[5] Mlle de Mourgues may call this last epigram "metaphysical"[6]; a less sophisticated critic would be content to affirm that here, at last, the *concetto* has become poetry.

When speaking of the baroque one is reminded of the South Seas fish of which Stevenson says: "It is a question both of time and place. A fish in a lagoon may be deadly; the same fish caught the same day at sea, and only a few hundred yards without the passage, will be wholesome eating: in a neighbouring isle perhaps the case will be reversed; and perhaps a fortnight later you shall be able to eat of

[4] I would alter in this regard what I wrote about Donne's style in my essay quoted above, agreeing with E. B. O. Borgerhoff (see *Comparative Literature*, V, 1953, 329). On the role played by the paradox in Donne's religious and love poetry, and on the ensuing *Schichtenwechsel*, see Hansruedi Faerber, *Das Paradoxe in der Dichtung von John Donne* (Rüschlikon-Zürich, 1950).

[5] See M. Praz, *Richard Crashaw* (Brescia, 1945), p. 119-121.

[6] See p. 136 apropos of *précieux* poetry which would become metaphysical according to the degree of seriousness in the poet's attitude to discrepancy, or the degree of seriousness of the discrepancy.

them indifferently from within and from without. According to the natives, these bewildering vicissitudes are ruled by the movement of the heavenly bodies. The beautiful planet Venus plays a great part in all island tales and customs; and among other functions, some of them more awful, she regulates the season of good fish. With Venus in one phase, as we had her, certain fish were poisonous in the lagoon; with Venus in another, the same fish was harmless and a valued article of diet." For Venus substitute the Muse, or inspiration, and the whole story of the baroque will be told without any need of further distinctions and subdivisions.

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DRAMA FROM IBSEN TO ELIOT. By Raymond Williams. London: Chatto and Windus, 1952. 283 p.

Whether naturalistic drama is a dead horse is debatable, but there is no doubt it is still being flogged. In America Louis Kronenberger has lately deplored the "flat fact and flashbulb method," and Joseph Wood Krutch has gone to some pains to retrieve the dignity of man from the rubble of naturalism. In England Mr. Raymond Williams is one of those who continue to regret the tradition of Zola. His collection of essays is loosely unified by his deep concern over a drama that has lost, in Yeats' phrase, "the ancient sovereignty of words" and played into the hands of an irresponsible theatricality. It is not that he rejects the authority of the stage, but he believes that the naturalistic play, with its emphasis on character, has very nearly assumed the condition of improvisation. In the century from *Catilina* to *The Cocktail Party*, the play has become an anemic, halting thing, though it is now progressing through an "uneasy stage" of poetry toward resuming its real literary viability.

In what is by far his longest chapter Mr. Williams isolates the idea of vocation as the persistent, unifying theme in Ibsen. He finds Ibsen a great artist in a period inimical to art, and he attributes his failure to an absence of true dramatic form. Of *The Wild Duck* he observes: "The play does as much as the fully naturalistic play could ever do. It presents a richly assorted selection of characters, an interesting plot, and a high strain of emotion." Always, here and elsewhere in Ibsen, Mr. Williams objects to the use of the term "symbol," lest, perhaps, the naturalistic play seem more poetic than it really is. The pistols in *Hedda Gabler* have been called everything from dramatic "punctuation marks," by John Gassner, to the very objectification of Hedda, by Jeannette Lee. Mr. Williams will not call them symbols any more than he will so denominate the wild duck, the white horses of *Rosmersholm*, or the fire in *Ghosts*; instead he borrows from physiology (or is it physics?) to call them "pressure points." If Mr. Williams is intent on denying the deep-seated organicity of these moments, symbols, pressure points, call them what you will, the result is rather the opposite, since his term insists on the whole, pulsating organism of the play. I think, myself, that the pistols and the manuscript burning in *Hedda Gabler* are not merely symbolic but serve as the meeting points of ritual and dramatic form. They may be said to bear a mythic relationship to the gunfire and bonfire fertility rituals of midsummer and as such, imbedded in the developing rhythm of the play, they act as a kind of ironic antiritual. But the whole question of myth in Ibsen needs to be explored and this is no place to do it. While Mr. Williams finds the mythic approach of Anouilh to be "the growing point of consciousness in modern prose drama," he satisfies himself with a half dozen pages on the subject. If he is impatient with the irresponsible use of the term "symbol," he is, I think, justified; but his approval of the mythic approach should be developed in terms of his whole argument.

Mr. Williams is fond of Strindberg because "his language has the explicit,

calculated violence of the whole dramatic method" and because he has disrupted the stereotyped character identifiable by an easy label or single cliché. It is Sean O'Casey's failure to reject this concept of character that makes Mr. Williams dispose of him in a note appended to the chapter on Synge. No account is rendered of the later, expressionistic phase of O'Casey's work.

In Chekhov what we have been accustomed to call symbols are described as "hints at profundity" or, at best, "lyrical gestures." Rather than discover any "poetry of the theater," to use Cocteau's phrase, Mr. Williams finds instead "the hoped-for significance of the silent, imprecise gesture." Perhaps too much has been made of Chekhov in our time, and yet what greater playwright have we? Francis Fergusson may take too little account of the farcical side of Chekhov, but he does cherish the theater poetry as it ought to be cherished. Mr. Williams, by the way, seems to be unaware of Fergussons's *Idea of a Theater*.

The appraisal of Shaw lies somewhat apart from the presiding theme of the book. The usual complaints are made, that the political infringes upon the literary, that there is a damaging emotional inadequacy, that Shaw was a novelist *manqué*, that the plays are all too frequently inverted melodramas. But Mr. Williams does use Shaw to reinforce his central argument when he agrees with Eliot that "the poet in Shaw was stillborn." In spite of his wit and forensic skill he could never mature. A like reception is accorded Pirandello's metaphysical theater. *Six Characters* is "a brilliant aside, a trick comedy" which plays into the hands of the naturalistic method while apparently rebelling against it. Improvisation weakens the very structure of language, impoverishes speech; and the problem of speech is always, for Mr. Williams, the central one in contemporary drama. Rather unexpectedly, *The Weavers*, the only play of Hauptmann's that is analyzed, satisfies Mr. Williams because its language is authentic (whereas O'Casey's is for effect) and thoroughly imbedded in the total action of the play.

The author says at the outset that he is employing the "practical criticism" of Eliot, Richards, and Empson. Quite naturally, then, he is impatient with thin and unmetaphoric language, and happy when he gets on to Synge, Yeats, Eliot, and Fry. He observes "the absence of metaphor and verbal symbolism in Synge, but the abundance of simile." He appreciates the dynamic quality of language but remarks that it is parallel with the action rather than *being* the action. The appraisals of Yeats and Eliot are vigorous, restrained, and sensitive. By the very nature of Mr. Williams' thesis, however, they are assigned rank as dramatists a good deal above that usually conferred upon them by the fraternity of critics. It seems to me that Mr. Williams' "close criticism" works to best advantage on Fry, when he observes, for example, "a loose sliding away from speech, a monotone of seeming, with slow, wide meanders into adjective and adjectival phrase." Here the very sinew of language is dissected with considerable skill.

American playwrights are notably absent. O'Neill and Rice get a passing reference each; Williams and Miller are never mentioned. American drama is obviously looked upon as a blind alley, though no direct disparagement is voiced. In his final essay Mr. Williams pays tribute to a drama criticism, primarily that of Yeats and Eliot, which precedes the creative act and not so much establishes a current of ideas in the Arnoldian sense as it develops the audience. Criticism has done much to re-establish the "ancient sovereignty" of language in the theater, he believes; but it must do even more. Undoubtedly the language of the theater needs to be rehabilitated, and American drama is notably weak in this respect; but this is by no means the sole path to a healthy, vital theater. To overlook the larger texture and rhythm of the play is clearly a disservice to the kind of criticism Mr. Williams believes in.

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RENÉ RILKES PRAGER JAHRE. By Peter Demetz. Düsseldorf: Eugene Diederichs Verlag, 1953. 210 p.

In eight chapters, Mr. Demetz discusses the various phases of the young Rilke's activities in and around Prague, where he, like Werfel and Kafka, was born, and the impact of the Czech environment upon his poetic development. The book covers a period of approximately twenty-five years, from 1875 to 1900. An appendix furnishes the bibliographical material the author has consulted, of which some (Czech essays and books) are, unfortunately, no longer accessible to Western readers.

Like E. M. Butler's book on Rilke, Mr. Demetz' approach is negative. But whereas Miss Butler's study suffers because of its sweeping condemnation, Mr. Demetz's criticisms of this unquestionably unattractive period of Rilke's life seem more justified. The value of his contribution lies in the emphasis and occasionally fresh critical judgment he brings to bear on his material. On the whole, however, there is but little intrinsic criticism in either book, even when, as in the present study, the early works ("Einig," "Leise Begleitung," *Die Letzten*, "Jugendbildnis meines Vaters," etc.) are more or less specifically discussed. In its stead we are given detailed biographical facts and their application to the individual works from a generally psychoanalytic point of view.

The author first describes young Rilke's parents and the disorder of his home, on the assumption that a critical examination of the "world of adults" is extremely important for an understanding of the development of Rilke's personality. The indifference of a servile and insignificant father, Joseph Rilke, makes the predominant and pernicious influence of Phia, his mother, even more strikingly evident. For this Mr. Demetz furnishes ample evidence. Phia, who as a poetess had a volume of trite aphorisms (*Ephermeriden*) published in 1899, is the disappointed wife, suffering constantly from the stain of a bourgeois name. Her erroneous belief in her husband's descendance from a branch of the old Bohemian nobility and her yearning, so utterly false and contemptible, for an aristocratic atmosphere made her remain all her life the "girl in the white muslin dress, whose dreams the world had forgotten to fulfill" (p. 18). René came to be the emotional heir of his mother. " Er war es, der ihre Tagträume, ihre verborgene Sehnsucht erfüllte" (p. 25). The mother's tenderness and dreams were forced upon him in such a way that he was not able to free himself of them until late in his life. The mother image in its pseudoaristocratic guise, as well as the deceptive idea of being the late offspring of a noble family, took dangerous possession of him and occurs time and again in a number of his works (e.g., "Einig," *Die Letzten*, *Malte Laurids Brigge*, Sonnet XVII of Part I of the *Sonette an Orpheus*, his letters, etc.). This period of Rilke's youth has never been treated so thoroughly or traced through his work.

The matter becomes different when Mr. Demetz comes to his chapter on "René's tschechische Themen" (Jan Hus, Dalibor, etc., pp. 118, 141 ff.) and above all the topography of Prague in the early poems. Mr. Demetz is right in stressing the isolation of the German-speaking poet (Kafka and Werfel, among others) in a Czech environment, which eventually led to Rilke's moving to Munich (Werfel's to Hamburg, and Kafka's to Berlin), but this is not new. In fact, much of this was pointed out by Carl Sieber (*Rainer Maria Rilke*, Leipzig, n.d. pp. 32 ff.), who incidentally anticipates a number of other points Mr. Demetz makes. Although Mr. Demetz mentions in his bibliographical appendix both Carl Sieber and Richard von Mises, he does not refer to either in the text itself. The result is, unfortunately, that for one not familiar with the work of these two critics the book tends to create the impression of presenting significantly original material. Sometimes, it is true, Mr. Demetz reinterprets, helpfully and intelligently, material

covered elsewhere. For example, he insists that Rilke's pseudoaristocratic ambitions had no factual basis, whereas Sieber, at the end of his much more detailed presentation, leaves it to the reader to accept or to remain skeptical toward Rilke's claim. On the other hand, he far too often reiterates material of questionable significance, which has certainly received elsewhere all the attention it deserves. For example, René's unquestionably bad judgment on Arthur Schnitzler ("in ein paar Jahren wird Arthur Schnitzler, wenn es halbwegs gerecht zugeht, im Vorzimmer des Dramaturgen Jenny, des bekannten Dramatikers, . . . demütig warten," p. 173), Ludwig Ganghofer (Rilke considered Ganghofer's *Meerleuchten* a new climax of dramatic poetry), Max Halbe, and Detlev von Liliencron. All this can easily be found either in Richard von Mises' introduction to *Rainer Maria Rilke, Briefe, Verse und Prosa* (New York, 1946, p. 10) or in Rilke's *Briefe an die Baronesse von Oe* (ed. Richard von Mises, New York, 1945). Yet, having repeated these unimportant announcements of Rilke's, it is strange that Mr. Demetz does not even mention Rilke's definite awareness of Jens Peter Jacobsen, Dostoevsky, and Chekhov, whom he read in 1897, although the book covers Rilke's life at least till 1900 and even beyond. One wonders if this omission is accidental or is a deliberate device to support the negative thesis of the book. Again, the rather overbearing and conceited nature of Rilke's literary and journalistic activities, his *Selbststilisierung*, have been covered, with less bias and more critical insight, by Richard von Mises.

In the end one asks oneself what this "revealing" book actually amounts to, particularly at a time when serious critical interest has shifted to the really important works of Rilke. Is it meant to be a sobering antidote for the uncritical and emotional commentaries that still swamp the market? If so, it seems hardly worth the effort. The semisincere, melancholy, nursery-rhyme-like jingles of Rilke's early poems—his professional *Schwärmerei*—were never attractive to any critic of stature or even to the mature Rilke himself. Every poet, I believe, is entitled to his own sort of failure. To say once more that this failure is bad, and at times even nauseatingly so, adds little to our conception of Rilke as a whole. I hold with Richard von Mises that no one is in a position to tell "zu welchem Ende die Wegnahme oder Hinzufügung eines einzigen Zuges in dem Jugendbildnis geführt hätte" (*Briefe an die Baronesse von Oe*, p. 5).

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STUDIES AND NOTES (LITERARY AND HISTORICAL). By Joseph G. Fucilla. Naples-Rome: Istituto Editoriale del Mezzogiorno, 1953. 419 p.

This is the first of three volumes of studies which Professor Fucilla is currently publishing. *Studies and Notes* appears to be the most heterogeneous of the three;[1] it consists of twenty-six essays which have previously been published in various journals over a period of twenty years. The collection represents some of the finest scholarship of the editor of *Italica*. The articles turn about the central axis of Italian literature and culture; there appear to be two general themes: (1) the transmission of literary forms and ideas within Italy and from Italy to the rest of Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and (2) the general impact of Italian letters and civilization upon other nations and particularly upon America.

The volume opens and closes with studies in the field of Italo-American

[1] The two volumes to follow are being published by the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas in Madrid with the titles, *Relaciones literarias hispano-italianas* and *Apuntes para la historia del petrarquismo en España*.

cultural relationships. Four short articles on early translations in America of fragments from Dante begin the work, and the concluding article, entitled "An American Diplomat in Settecento Italy," is largely a transcription of letters written to Thomas Jefferson by William Short during the latter's travels in Italy in 1788-89. Close to the end and as part of the same group is the article, "Echoes of the American Revolution in an Italian Poet." The poet in question is the Jesuit Luigi Brenna, who expressed his enthusiasm for the American Revolution in sonnets published under the pseudonym Cleobulo Paleofilo.

Between these two small groups of articles on the same theme, which serve as a pleasant and illuminating framework for the whole, are fine studies of lasting interest to the student of literary forms and their history, articles that contribute to our understanding of complex literary developments in a complex period. Fucilla has apparently arranged these studies into groups as far as their content would permit. There are three articles on Renaissance forms and themes, three on Ariosto, three on Franco-Italian contacts, and four on Italian influences, chiefly Petrarchan, in Spain and Portugal. Articles *hors de série* are placed between the groups.

The first, dealing with problems of Renaissance stylistic devices, extends a study by H. V. Canter on "The Figure ΑΔΥΝΑΤΟΝ in Greek and Latin Poetry"[2] into the field of Renaissance imitations. The modern vogue of *impossibilia* seems to stem from Petrarch and moves from Italy with the popularity of Petrarchism into France, Spain, Portugal, and England, the regions to which the author limits this investigation. In the second study, Fucilla examines the *"Parole identiche* in the Sonnet and Other Verse Forms," and shows that poetry in which the rhymes consist of identical words was a genre which derived from the *sonetto equivoco* of the preceding period and was widely cultivated from the middle of the fifteenth century. This type of poem offered opportunity for the greatest virtuosity and variety, although certain antithetical pairs of words were particularly popular: *vita-morte, pace-guerra, notte-giorno, foco-ghiaccio.* These poems were then imitated in France (Du Bellay), where they enjoyed the least favor, in England (Sidney, Drummond), in Spain (Acuña, Pedro de Padilla, Herrera, Pedro de Quirós), and even in Germany (Baron Franz von Gaudy), where the sonnet became acclimated only in the last part of the seventeenth century, by which time the vogue of *parole identiche* had practically disappeared elsewhere. Fucilla attaches as an appendix to his article some "Manuscript Versions" of such poetry. The last article in this group, "Materials for the History of a Popular Classical Theme," provides additional information concerning the transmission, imitation, and transformation of the first idyl of Moschus in Neo-Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, German, and English verse. This, to my mind, is one of Professor Fucilla's most successful articles; with simplicity and clarity he lays open for our examination a highly interesting instance of the vitality of a poetic idea moving from poet to poet in a constant process of regeneration, changing in each case, yet always retaining its essential character.

The articles on Ariosto include: (1) the identification of the apocryphal "ottave in lode delle bellezze d'una donna," which have appeared with Ariosto's lyrics since the first printed edition, as the first twelve of the twenty-two octaves of the "Pompa di corrieri amorosi" by Anton Francesco Rinieri; (2) Ariosto's literary debts to Sannazaro's Prosa Duodecima of the *Arcadia*; and (3) similar debts to a sonnet by Tebaldeo and an octave by Francesco Cei.

A study on the vogue of Navagero's "De Cupidine et Hyella" in Italian, French, Spanish, and English verse leads to a group of three essays on French writers,

[2] *American Journal of Philology*, LI (1930), 32-41.

two on Du Bellay and one presenting some unedited correspondence between Voltaire and Count di Polcenigo. The first article on Du Bellay points out in some detail the similarities between his "Contre les Pétrarquistes" and Mellin de Saint Gelais' "A une malcontente" and borrowings by Du Bellay from Bembo for this poem and others.

The Hispano-Portuguese group begins with a discussion of a manuscript collection of *Poesia Espanhola*, compiled by a Portuguese in the early seventeenth century. Professor Fucilla publishes the hitherto unedited poems and lists the variants in others. Next, "A Miscellany of Portuguese Imitations" discusses various Portuguese poems taken from Petrarch and the Petrarchists. Fucilla then includes his four studies on Antonio Ferreira: "Vergil and Antonio Ferreira," "The Horatianism of Antonio Ferreira," and "The Petrarchism of Antonio Ferreira" (these three tracing the Portuguese humanist poet's debt in his poetry to three great traditions), and "Angeriano and Antonio Ferreira," which considers the influence of this relatively minor Italian writer upon Ferreira. The last essay on the Portuguese poets is devoted to "Manuel Faría y Sousa's Imitations from the Italian Poets"; all imitations and originals are reproduced in full: seven from Petrarch, twenty-two from Panfilo Sasso, one each from Veniero, Barignano, Caro, and Capello.

Leading back to the American theme is a study of "The European and American Vogue of Metastasio's Shorter Poems," reminding us that "between 1750 and 1825 they were the most profusely imitated and translated lyrics of the times, equalled only by versions from Anacreon." To bear out this statement, Professor Fucilla appends a 24-page list of translations into the principal languages of Europe.

The closing group of studies includes a brief note on the figure of "Pasquale Paoli [the Corsican patriot] in Eighteenth Century Italian Literature," a note on the authenticity of "A Foscolo Letter to S. Marchisio" and the relation of the letter to emendations in Marchisio's play, *La Borsa Perduta*, and finally the letters of W. Short to Jefferson, already noted.

Few scholars in America have labored so intelligently and so continuously as Professor Fucilla to make more exact our knowledge of a very important period in literary history. His studies of Petrarchism will be basic to any subsequent treatment of the subject,[3] because he has provided us with new *facts*. This imposing collection of studies bears clear witness to the large debt that literary scholars and comparatists will always owe to Professor Fucilla.

However, the witness that this volume in its present form bears would have been still clearer if the book had contained fewer editorial and typographical errors. It is to be regretted that a collection of studies as fine as these should be rendered less useful—and in certain respects almost useless—to the scholar because of these unnecessary blemishes. In some copies the pagination is confused, although the text is still intact, and the many errors in spelling and punctuation can generally be corrected by the reader. But when lines of the text itself are omitted[4] (p. 167), when lines of the poems quoted are missing (p. 83)[5] or are

[3] Cf. E. Segura Covarsí, *La canción petrarquista en la lírica española del siglo de oro* (Madrid, 1949), pp. 86-87, 146-149.

[4] The italicized words are missing: "The many references to Saint Gelais scattered throughout his works and *the translation of one of his Latin epigrams embodied in the* sonnet 'A son Luth' indicate that he was directly acquainted with the court-poet's verses."

[5] Line 4 of the first sonnet, "Tanto lloro," is as follows: "Y en sentiendo que muero, entonces bivo."

transposed (pp. 160-161),[6] the reader is left in some confusion. Perhaps only a purist would insist upon precision in Greek quotations, but the errors in the little ode by Anacreon (p. 99) average one per line and are such as to make the verses incomprehensible.

I should like to consider in detail the errors in an otherwise excellent essay, "Petrarchism and the Modern Vogue of the Figure ΑΔΥΝΑΤΟΝ" (pp. 31-46). In the opening sentence the title of R. H. Coon's article should be enclosed in quotation marks. Mr. Canter's article in the *American Journal of Philology* is found on pages 32-41, not on pp. 32-44.[7] The first footnote is missing; it should have been indicated after *Pace non trovo* (p. 31).[8] Professor Fucilla apparently made certain alterations in this article for the present printing,[9] and it may be that he intended to omit this note and simply failed to correct the subsequent numeration.

Before quoting his examples from Petrarch, Professor Fucilla lists a number of the poems in which the figure *ἀδύνατον* occurs. In the original form of the article this list did not include the poems from which the passages to follow were taken; consequently the phrase, "and the examples that follow," was appropriate. In this re-edition, however, the phrase no longer has any meaning since the poems to follow have already been listed. If we examine this list, we shall discover that the third entry in our present volume is LVIII (p. 182 in Scherillo's edition of the *Rime*). This is a puzzler (since the sonnet referred to offers no example of *ἀδύνατον*) until it is seen that the first quotation given also comes from p. 182, although it is identified as LXIII in both versions of the article. Instead of LVIII or LXIII, it is LVII, 182; and since the sonnet begins on p. 181, and continues on p. 182 where the passage in question is found, and since the only Roman numeral on p. 182 belongs to the next poem, viz. LVIII, this number, in a rapid recheck, was substituted for the correct LVII.

In the case of the fifth sonnet listed, CIX, 242, there seems to be the same confusion that we found for LVII, i.e., the passage referred to must belong to

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[6] The verse, "And rich perfume sweet-breating [*sic*] from her hair," belongs, not to the poem into which it has been introduced on p. 160, but to the poem on p. 161 from which it has been omitted. The line should be inserted after "Lips that might kindle in the gods a flame."

[7] I also feel that Professor Fucilla is dramatizing somewhat when he says in his first paragraph that Canter "curtly dismisses the whole question of the modern diffusion." Professor Canter's last two sentences are: "The simpler and earlier types were taken up and much elaborated for rhetorical purposes by Greek and Latin writers and in the rhetorical schools (see Sen. Rhet. Contr. 1, 5, 2). Classical models have of course been widely imitated in modern literatures." *AJP*, LI (1930), 41.

[8] Footnote indications are missing in other articles. Where, for example, should the numbers 24 and 25 be placed in the text on p. 111? The original footnote 1 to this article read: "A similar Petrarchan sonnet: *Beato in sogno* . . . has also been imitated many times in whole or in part, but does not compare with *Pace non trovo* . . . in popularity."

[9] Examples: The addition to footnote 3 (p. 33) citing Camporesi's article which had, of course, appeared after the original publication of this article in *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, LVI (1936), 671-681. The wording of footnote 9 (p. 42) has been altered to make the reference clearer. The second (and significant) line of Tansillo's sonnet in footnote 11 (p. 44) has been omitted ("Il colle sarà piano, il piano colle"). The paragraph of references on p. 45 beginning "Further examples . . ." has been shortened, presumably by the author.

CVIII, the latter part of which is also on p. 242.[10] The next entry is identical and correct in both editions (CXXVII, 273). The numbers CXCV, 346 identify the third and last quotation, although it is omitted after the quotation itself. The last entry, CCXL, 393, while appearing in both versions of the article, is not convincing as an example of *ἀδύνατον*. However, the stanza at the top of p. 392 beginning "Temprar potess'io . . . " and belonging to CCXXXIX *is* a good example.

The first verse of the first quotation ("Lasso! le nevi fien tepide e nigre") has been omitted in this printing. The article ('l) has been omitted before *ghiaccio* in the first line of the second quotation, in which the commas after *Dentro* and *nebbia* and the apostrophe after *Ch'i* have also disappeared.[11]

In two cases the titles of collections of poetry have been altered, with no explanation. In its original form, the entry on p. 34 ran, L. A. Avogadra, Se satia ancor, *Rime di diversi eccellenti autori bresciani*, 1554. It now reads *Rime, di diversi signori bresciani*. Another example on p. 37: *Rime di diversi elevati ingegni de la città di Udine* (which is admittedly long) now appears as *Rime di diversi poeti udinesi*. The date of the *Rime de gli Accademici Occulti*, given as 1568 in the first article, now appears as 1567, and the word at the top of p. 35 was originally a plural, *ἀδύνατα*. Throughout the paragraphs of titles and editions (pp. 34, 37, 40, 42-45) there are slips in punctuation, italicization, spelling, and quotation, none very serious.

The poems on p. 36 contain a number of inaccuracies. The location of the poem "Pria fia senza luce," beginning on p. 35, is here given as Vol. II of the *Poesie italiane inedite . . .*, although the original article gave Vol. III (the work is not available for checking). In the next poem, "Prima fien servi," the last line is an unintentional telescoping of the last two lines of the original. It should read, "Potrassi far che'l passato non sia / Prima ch'io non sia tuo, tu non sia mia." The second poem, "Pria ch'altro," omits a verse. After "Ardita seguirà la cerva il cane" should be inserted the line, "Si vedranno i serpenti a volo andare." Finally, in the third poem, "Più tosto i fiumi," the form *morierassi* in line 2 should be corrected to *movierassi*.

Footnote 7 on p. 38 should be on the next page, since it is a note to the statement ending "unmistakably clear" (top p. 39), although there is no such indication. This footnote has here been shortened to omit the bibliographical references to Petrarchism in Germany and Spain. On p. 40, line 7 of the poem "Belle; plutost les eaux" should be corrected to read, "Les princes seront serfs et les serfs empereurs," while the date of the preceding poem, given here as 1583, was originally given as 1580. The title of Guevara's play (p. 41) is *El diablo está en Cantillana* (not *Santillana*). The form *podrá* in line 3, p. 42, should be the plural *podrán*, and *bañara* in line 2 of the poem "Antes del Tigres" is *bañará*.

The poem given in footnote 10, p. 43, is pretty badly garbled. Beginning with line 5, it should read:

> "Antes al campo producciones bellas,
> Al monte horror, al llano esparcimiento,
> Torpes invidias al merecimiento

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[10] "Prima poria per tempo venir meno
Un'imagine salda di diamante,
Che l'atto dolce non mi stia davante . . . "
(CVIII, vv. 8-10, p. 242)
CIX offers no instance of *ἀδύνατον*.

[11] As it has in line 3 of the third quotation, "ch'i non." "Essere po' " should be "Essere pò" and "sani il corpo," "sani 'l corpo."

Y al no admitido amor tristes querellas.
Antes sus flores..."
(*BAE*, XLVII, 231)

On p. 44, Tuberville should be corrected to Turberville, and it so happens that his *Tales* are *Tragical* with only one *l*. The word *edition* should be deleted before the number 182. There are four misprints in the first poem on p. 45 (*killis* for *kills, change* for *chainge, impossible* for *imposseble, Son* for *Sen*). In the reference on the same page read: "G. Fletcher, *Licia* in Lee's Eliz. Sonnets, etc."

This particular article was a random choice for examination, and it may well be that it contains more mistakes than the others. The general impression is, nevertheless, that, for scholarly use of Professor Fucilla's material, it will continue to be necessary to go back to the articles in their original form. It is most unfortunate that the collected edition of these studies could not have been made with the care worthy of their excellence.

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HEINE IN ITALIA NEL SECOLO DECIMONONO. By Anne Fiedler Nossing. New York: S. F. Vanni, 1948, 341 p.

Heine made two journeys through Italy. The first, in the flesh, gave birth to his *Reisebild* of 1828, where there was much Heine and little Italy. The second, in the spirit, described and evaluated by Anne Fiedler Nossing for the period 1850-1900, had the air of a procession marking a permanent occupation. Yet the sound and fury in the end signified very little in Italian creative expression. At least such is the author's conclusion in a book that turns out to be not so much a study of influence as an attempt to prove its irrelevance.

Heine was first presented to Italians from a French translation by F. D. Guerrazzi in his *L'Assedio di Firenze* (1831). Studies and translations from the original followed, the first translation being the rather academic metrical version of "Liebesgram" by Tommaso Gar in 1839. The same year brought a rather cold notice, largely at second hand, in the official and classicist *Biblioteca Italiana*, where Heine was mentioned as one of a number of German poets. There followed a vogue that exceeded perhaps even that of Heine in France for the number of translators and imitators. Not only liberals, socialists, aesthetes, and Germanophiles but even some of the Catholic laity and clergy fell under the power, if not of the poet, of the fashion. After 1881 there seems to have been a lyric legion of feminine translators and enthusiasts. The young Pirandello, poet of the *Mal Giocondo* in 1890, does not escape. Fifty *Lieder* of Heine penetrate into the Venetian dialect. Maffei does a version even of the plays, Pietro Mascagni sets *Ratcliff* to music and achieves a *succès d'estime* at its performance. Consecration by science was effected when a learned doctor, in 1893, wrote for his medical colleagues on Heine's theory of color vision in *Florentinische Nächte*.

The greater the vogue, the more interesting the metamorphoses: Heine the hero of liberty, Heine the singer of love and death, a kind of Leopardi, Heine the "representative" of German romanticism, the "typical" German, the great humanitarian, the ideal of the pagan Renaissance. He was to have his enemies, the earliest of them perhaps the well-known polygraph Gustavo Strafforello in 1857, who finds his "humor" gross, pagan, and atheistic in contrast to that of Carlyle. More significant is the opposition of Zanella, one of the best late romantic poets, cultivated, bourgeois, patriotic, a liberal Catholic, persisting in his youthful passion for Heine even as he condemns his evil influence upon Italy.

Then there is Vittorio Imbriani, who favors the ironical side of the poet, does some translation, yet includes Heine among the enemy in his campaign of opposition, after 1860, to German art.

The wave of Heine's popularity had already attained something like its full force in the 1860s, driven by both the power of late romanticism and the neopaganism of Carducci; it reached its high point in the 1880s and 1890s. Miss Nossing attributes this vogue to positivism and sees a generic connection between Heine's poetry and positivistic and realistic currents. Admiration for Heine in France, however, was checked by the Franco-Prusssian War and in England by Victorian moralism. In Italy, the tradition of Boccaccio, the fact that Heine had not offended the patriotic feeling of the Italians, as he had that of the Germans, and the almost complete lack of anti-Semitism account for an admiration that "sorpassa i limiti del senso" (p. 17). Toward the end of the century a critical balance was established with the advent of the Russian novelists, of Ibsen and Strindberg, and an acquaintance with a larger number of German writers (in part, no doubt, an effect of the very vogue of Heine). Then, too, the general change in the Italian spirit around the turn of the century and the influence of Croce operated against Heine. Here also Francesco de Sanctis had served as John the Baptist. The first really critical page on Heine was written in 1856 by that great critic, who directed attention away from the *umorismo* to the "inferma imaginazione" (p. 39).

In contrast, Carducci's emphasis on the thinker and rebel in Heine seems to Miss Nossing to have been a step backward. Carducci's own evolution from 1860 to 1890 made him especially responsive to what there was in Heine of challenge to sect and system, to his gift for invective, to his delicate feeling for nature, and to the plasticity, grace, and clarity of his form. Thus even in the case of this great champion, who contributed more than anyone to the poet's fame in Italy, Heine's penetration was strictly *ad modum recipiendi*. The *Odi Barbare* bore no real trace of Heine. Even Carducci's versions of Heine are re-creations motivated by his own political and moral interests rather than translations. Such a masterpiece as "Passa la nave mia" (1882) Miss Nossing considers much superior to the original.

The demands of Carducci's strongly marked poetic personality make him less trustworthy even as a critic of Heine than Tullio Massarani and Bernardino Zendrini. Unable to achieve a successful showing in his own day against Carducci, Zendrini has the moderns on his side in his stress on Heine the artist. His four editions of the *Buch der Lieder* (1866-84), based on an excellent knowledge of German and a lifelong dedication to Heine, show more true feeling for the poet than felicity in translation. They are historically important as a bid for a renewal of Italian poetry along Manzonian lines—to make its diction more simple and popular. This was to run afoul of Carducci, with Heine as the weapon, or at least as the occasion. Such use of Heine was to be carried even farther by Enrico Thovez (1869-1925), memorable for his unrivaled version of the *Nordsee* poem, "Die Sonne neigte sich tiefer." Thovez saw in Heine an example of the romantic thesis that poetry is the fruit of immediate experience and excluded Carducci from his company on grounds of "insincerity."

"L'Heine fu una forza che stimolò la letteratura italiana e l'arricchì"—such is Miss Nossing's conclusion (p. 337). This seems fair enough, and positive enough. But she is strangely prone to take back what she has conceded. Thus she insists (in spite of the case of Zendrini) that there was no real criticism of Heine in nineteenth-century Italy, but only blind adoration. The German poet served merely to fill a vacuum in Italian thought and art between 1860 and 1890.

She adds that his popularity went far beyond that of Schiller and Goethe and continues today, though shifting its locus toward the less cultivated classes. What is more, nowhere does she really specify the quantity or quality of Heine's "stimulation" or "enrichment" of Italian literature.

The reasons for this backing and filling and this vagueness seem to lie in Miss Nossing's aim and method. She intends to approach Heine's effect in Italy not from the point of view of "imitazione" or "influenza," but of "trasfigurazione." She will show that "molti poeti italiani che hanno subito in un periodo del loro sviluppo un'attrazione spirituale per l'Heine, si sono però trovati di là da essa con una propria personalità non heiniana" (p. 20). But in order to "prove" what would hardly seem to require proof, namely that creative personalities make use of the forces of "influence" that play upon them instead of becoming their servants, she feels compelled to give a summary sketch of the temperament, life, and circumstances of about fifty writers. None of the sketches are complete enough to convince, and their total effect is a blur. As a matter of fact, Miss Nossing leans upon her Crocian thesis instead of sustaining it. At the same time she ignores Croce's warning that the study of uniqueness is the province of the monograph. As a result, her particulars are not impressive and her generalizations become inconclusive.

But granting Miss Nossing what are, after all, her presuppositions, is there not a more fruitful approach to the problem of influence even along Crocian lines? Why not study influence in terms of *the difference it makes* to the writer who overcomes a powerful appeal? In such a case the appeal of certain elements in Heine's thought, feeling, vision, style, metrics would constitute part of the writer's "material" to be fused in the successful work of art. This would be no easy assignment; nor would it be feasible or even desirable to undertake it for several dozen writers. But the results might have more definite scientific value. As it is, one cannot avoid feeling that Miss Nossing's extensive knowledge of her field, her keen sense of some of the theoretical problems, her fine perceptions of poetic quality, have not borne their proper fruit.

The volume, which seems to be a thesis, is prefaced by a cursory treatment of Heine's "fortune" in the Latin, Germanic, Scandinavian, English-speaking, and Slavic countries and by notes on Hungary, Persia, and Japan. At the end a bibliography of some forty pages bears the captions: "Heine nelle lingue e letterature del mondo," "Studi generali," "Opere particolari," "I traduttori italiani dell'Heine," "Studi critici."

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LA "CORTESIA" DAI PROVENZALI A DANTE. By Aldo Vallone. Palermo: Palumbo, 1950. 106 p.

The problems related to courtly poetry are many and rather obscure. It is well known that this type of art stemmed from Provençal courts, and was brought to the courts of northern Italy by troubadours who sought protection from political and religious persecution. But what was the origin of courtly poetry? Why such great stress on the ethical effect of woman in the love drama? Could it be that the Church resented the fact that love, due solely to God, was being given to woman, and that poetry was being made secular by a new content? Did the Church resent the new situation created by the fact that men and women for the first time in Christian history mingled freely in society? The answer of the poets who sang of the ennobling effect of love through the uplifting role of woman

seems to point in this direction; but we must still wait for documentation. The solution of the problem would explain the religious and ethical undertone of the poetry that was heard, especially in Italy, at the end of the thirteenth century and even during the fourteenth century.

Aldo Vallone has presented the thesis that *cortesia*, "courtliness," is in Dante a synonym of ethical perfection. The central point in the development of this thesis lies in Vallone's belief that courtliness is different in each poet. Since it is a manner of *feeling* on the part of the poet, it is not right to explain the forms that it assumed in the *Divine Comedy* by studying only the social and historical background. What counts is to study the forms that it took in Dante. It might even be claimed that one should study the forms of courtliness in each of the three phases of Dante's literary life as reflected in the *Vita Nuova*, the learned works (*De Vulgari* and *Convivio*), and the *Divine Comedy*, which not only marked the pinnacle of artistic perfection but also was the intimate and sincere diary of the poet. The author clearly states that it is his intention to restrict his study to *cortesia* in Dante (p. 11). He also rejects the split between "mondo umano e mondo teologico" (p. 10), created by nineteenth-century critics, who failed to recognize that such a split did not exist in the mind of Dante.

For Dante courtliness meant an "inner force capable of giving a new life" (p. 27), the basic characteristic that marked the courtly section of his poetical works. In treating courtliness from this point of view, Dante departed from the manner of the Provençal poets, who treated it as *galanteria*, an external homage to the ladies of the courts.

This thesis is not new, but it is the merit of Aldo Vallone to have documented it. He studies anew the early contacts between Provençal poets and Italy (pp. 29-31), quotes from Italian poets who came under the spell of Provençal poetry (Buvalel, Cigala, Sordels), and then shows how in Dante courtliness became an antonym of villany (p. 33). Quoting directly from Dante, Vallone also shows how the term courtliness was identified with womanly perfection and comprised physical beauty, dignity, and stateliness, as expected of a person living in the noble atmosphere of the court. This deepening of the meaning of courtliness is shown also in other writers of Dante's time, before and during the literary career of the poet. Vallone quotes from Bonvesin of Riva (p. 36), Andrea da Barberino (p. 34), and the poets of the Sicilian School (p. 37) to show how widely courtliness had assumed the connotation of moral and human perfection among Italian poets (pp. 40-41).

The second portion of the essay (Parts III, and IV, pp. 45-73) deals with the treatment of courtliness in Dante's *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*. In the *Inferno* a striking contrast is obtained by allowing illustrious characters to grieve over the moral disintegration of Italy as it existed in 1300, the date of the imaginary journey. In the *Inferno* and even more in the *Purgatorio* courtliness is identified with nobility, dignity, and grace (p. 49). The poet reveals a "psychological" meaning of courtliness such as is called for by the diverse atmosphere of the three *cantiche*. In seeking the new aspect of courtliness in the *Divine Comedy* Vallone could have proven his case even more fully if he had quoted from *Inferno* II, where the "corte del cielo" is vividly modeled on the courtly life of Florence, where the poet spent his youth. The "donna gentile," Lucia, and Beatrice there appear clearly as reflections of the memory that Dante kept of Beatrice's friends when they had sought to console him for the indifference with which Beatrice treated her young lover. Lucia reappears in *Purgatorio* IX and carries the poet to the door of the second "kingdom," helping him to rise toward spiritual perfection, that he may be worthy of Beatrice's love. Is this not a symbolical

rendering of the help that the poet received in life from Beatrice's friends? In *Inferno* II the language used by Virgil is totally "courtly," in the sense in which Aldo Vallone uses the term. The last cantos of the *Purgatorio* are also to be related to the love drama of the poet as he presented it in the *Vita Nuova*. Here Dante had "covered" the imperfect manner in which he loved Beatrice by lending to love the ethical unity theoretically ascribed to it by the poets of Provence. In the confession at the top of the mountain of Purgatory, Dante, in a strikingly human manner, confesses the interest that he bestowed on the "pargolette," as if to say: Now, and only now, can I really love you. How was a perfect love possible on earth, when I was a slave of the vagaries and whims of youth? Beatrice and her friends reappear in *Purgatorio* suffused with the halo of the courtliness that Vallone attributes to Dante in the *Divine Comedy*.

The essay is enriched by an excellent bibliographical appendix. Its main value, however, centers in the fact that its author has restricted his analysis to the specific forms that courtliness assumed in the mind and soul of the poet, rather than abstractly referring to it through the historical background of the time of Dante.

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SHAKESPEARE'S *Troilus and Cressida* & THE LEGENDS OF TROY. By Robert K. Presson. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1953. x, 165 p.

Robert K. Presson describes his book in its first sentence as a "comparative analysis of the legends of Troy Shakespeare made use of." It was originally a Harvard thesis, to the summary of which nearly two pages are devoted in the newly published Variorum *Troilus and Cressida* (1953).

The sources of this play remain to some extent in question even after all the research done on Shakespeare, and for this play the sources have special importance, since it is one of the most puzzling and variously interpreted of all of the plays of Shakespeare. The understanding of his art and purposes and of the very nature and quality of the play must depend partly on the extent to which it was created out of the debased late Troy tradition, mediaeval and Elizabethan, or out of the nobler *Iliad*.

The love story from which *Troilus and Cressida* takes its title Presson treats in a minor way, concluding that in outline and incident, though not in spirit, it is extremely close to Chaucer's story of Troilus and Cressida. Presson's chief interest is in the "siege" plot, the story developed in the camp scenes where the warriors of Troy are the acting characters.

The combination of these two stories of the play, the post-Homeric love story and the siege plot, Shakespeare found in the mediaeval tradition, specifically in Caxton's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, through the very similar account in Lydgate's *Troy Book* may have served him, too. Some features of the siege plot of the play, however, notably the presence of Thersites as a character, could not have come from the mediaeval accounts. Whether, then, Shakespeare used the *Iliad* in addition to Caxton, and if so in what form he knew the *Iliad* and to what extent he worked here under its influence—these are debated and undetermined questions, and perhaps undeterminable. Because Shakespeare's "lesse Greeke" has been made famous, Chapman's English translation has seemed an obvious way for him to have known the *Iliad*. But only the *Seaven Bookes of the Iliades of Homere* and part of another book in *Achilles Shield* were published early enough (1598) to have been a source for the play. It has been

variously argued that in precisely those seven books there is contained the subject matter of the play, that the seven books are not enough to account for the extensive knowledge of the *Iliad* shown in the play, and, conversely, that the acquaintance with the *Iliad* shown in the play is no greater than what could have been drawn from the common fund of Elizabethan knowledge about the classics. There is the further complication that, if the play is, as many think, not wholly from Shakespeare's hand, the other playwright may have been the one who knew the *Iliad*. Presson's position is that, though Shakespeare used Caxton, he made Chapman's first partial translation of the *Iliad* a major source of the play.

In the longest chapter of the book, some two-thirds of the whole, Presson divides the play into thirteen sections for discussion and attempts to show for each, with quotations from Caxton and Chapman, its mediaeval or classical or mixed origin. It is not clear why Heywood's *Iron Age* should also be quoted extensively in this study of Shakespeare's sources, since Presson believes that its similarities to *Troilus and Cressida* are not due to Shakespeare's having borrowed from it. (In a book consisting so largely of quotations from mediaeval and Elizabethan authors, care to have the old spellings always right would have been good.)

In the first of the thirteen sections of this examination, "Dissension in the Greek Army," Presson makes one of his chief points, which concerns the subject matter of the play as a whole. This is that Caxton, in his chronicle of the whole history of Troy, offers no precedent for the starting point of the play, which is to deal with only a part of that whole history. But the epic does offer a precedent, and the play resembles the epic in starting point and therefore in subject matter —both portraying events of a late period of the siege, when Achilles is out of the fighting, returns, and kills Hector. Presson does not consider whether, for a play to be called *Troilus and Cressida*, Shakespeare might have found a natural starting point in Caxton at the place where, well along in Caxton's account of the whole war, the love story of Troilus and Cressida begins.

In the second section, "Motives for Achilles' Withdrawal," Presson finds a combination of motives: from Homer, pride (but just pride, not pride wounded by an affront from Agamemnon, as in Homer); from Caxton, love for the Trojan princess Polyxena; and, as Shakespeare's own contribution, what Presson calls Achilles' disinterest in the campaign. It may seem odd that anyone familiar with the first book of the *Iliad* could tell this story without the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon and the resulting wrath of Achilles, but Presson thinks Shakespeare wanted Achilles not to have right on his side in the play.

"Hector's Challenge" Presson assigns to Homer. In "The Embassy to Achilles" he finds no affinity to earlier accounts. "The Combat" (of Hector and Ajax) he says is selected from Homer, adapted from Caxton. "Hector's Visit to the Greek Camp" is an event of the narrative of Caxton but does not occur in Homer. The scene Presson discusses under the heading "Hector and Andromache" follows Caxton. To "The Death of Patroclus" Presson gives separate treatment as one of the thirteen sections, largely for the sake of showing that in its chronological position Homer is followed; but actually it is scarcely an incident of the play and might have been thought to receive adequate treatment in Presson's discussion of it, as a motive taken from Homer, in "Motives for the Return of Achilles." "The Letter from Hecuba," a part of the Polyxena story, has to be from Caxton. "The Death of Hector," if it owes anything to Homer, is indebted to a book of the *Iliad* Chapman had not yet translated at the time the play was written; for this episode Presson might have considered also Chaucer's account of Hector's death in *Troilus and Criseyde* as one possible source. "The Thersites Scenes" are one of the chief nonmediaeval elements of

the play and are what first suggested (to Samuel Johnson) Chapman as a source. "The Trojan Council" is last.

This examination by Presson of the parts of Shakespeare's dramatic version of the Troy story has the value of showing in a detailed way, which had not been attempted before, that much in it is not dramatized from the mediaeval sources. Counting the Thersites scenes, one must grant that the amount is large, if perhaps not enough to justify the position that the *Iliad* is a major source of the play.

It must be evident from this summary, and Presson says himself, that his book is an attempt to trace particular scenes and incidents in the play to their mediaeval or classical sources. Presson is, further, strongly convinced that the treatment of these scenes and incidents, from whatever source, is unmediaeval in spirit. He begins his final summarizing chapter with an attack on a statement he quotes from *Shakespeare's Problem Comedies,* by William Witherle Lawrence, to the effect that the camp scenes in this play are wholly dominated by mediaeval, unclassical conceptions of the tale of Troy. The choice of Lawrence for attack is perhaps unfortunate; for Lawrence might find himself in essential agreement with Presson's demonstration that this and that in the play seems to be from Homer. On only the previous page Lawrence had spoken of borrowings in the play from the *Iliad* and had expressed approval of Tatlock's idea that the play might be Shakespeare's revision of an old piece by a playwright who knew Greek.

Possibly some indication of whether Shakespeare inclined toward the mediaeval or classical spirit is hinted at in his treatment of Hector's challenge. The challenge itself, Presson says, is based on Homer, but he notes that the chivalrous motive given for it in the play is found only in the play and in no other account of the siege of Troy. Against some Grecian true in love, Hector will "make it good . . . He hath a Lady, wiser, fairer, truer." Surely this, apparently Shakespeare's own addition, is conceived wholly in the spirit of the Middle Ages and may show that Presson is at least too ready to find Shakespeare unmediaeval.

A major defect in Presson's study is his constant equation of the *Iliad* as a source with Chapman's partial translation as a source. The matter of Troy was well known in many versions at the time the play was written. In Presson's words, "Though familiar to readers from an early date, it was in the last years of Elizabeth's reign, particularly from 1596 to 1602, that the public interest in the Ten Years' War became most pronounced, as the number of books printed and plays produced testifies" (p. 3). Besides the English works on Trojan themes, there were other indirect ways of meeting with Homer's story, as in English translations of classical authors who, like Ovid and Virgil, deal sometimes with Troy material. There were translations of Homer into Latin and various of the vulgar tongues. Chapman's was not the first partial English version of the *Iliad*. Moreover, the text of Homer was known in Elizabethan England. Presson makes no attempt at all to exclude other ways than Chapman's translation to account for the knowledge of the *Iliad* that seems to be shown in the play, no attempt at all to show that such knowledge must have come from Chapman and only from Chapman. His final statement on the siege plot in his "Summary and Conclusions" is: "The dramatist's debt to the incomplete 1598 edition of Homer [that is, of Chapman] is manifest, I think, in the central situation, in the episodes, in narrative flavor, theme or conception, and in characterization" (p. 141). Here, as generally throughout the book, Chapman is Homer.

Presson's style is marked by the use of colloquialisms. The only index is of passages cited.

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PROVENÇAL REGIONALISM. A Study of the Movement in the *Revue félibréenne, Le Feu* and other Reviews of Southern France. By Alphonse V. Roche. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1954. xx, 271 p.

Si l'on voulait faire un reproche au titre choisi par M. Roche, ce serait celui de pécher par une modestie excessive; et nous ne sommes pas loin de croire que cette modestie constitue pour son ouvrage un assez sérieux handicap. On s'attendrait, en effet, à y trouver un dépouillement méthodique, ou bien un historique des revues dont il est fait mention: c'est en réalité toute une histoire de l'idéologie méridionale qu'il nous fait parcourir presque à notre insu. On ne saurait s'en plaindre, bien au contraire, mais en même temps l'auteur semble ne pas vouloir oublier son titre, auquel il sacrifie le premier et le dernier chapitre (histoire des revues et de leur rédaction; examen de leur contenu littéraire et critique). Il en résulte un plan un peu bâtard, dont les chapitres centraux, les plus neufs et les plus intéressants, offrent une excellente vue d'ensemble du provençalisme pendant les derniers 80 ans; mais ces chapitres se trouvent fâcheusement coincés entre ceux que nous venons de signaler, et qui sembleraient promettre à l'ouvrage des perspectives plus modestes et des aperçus dépourvus d'ampleur. Il faut croire que l'auteur s'etait fixé un programme modeste et tout à fait analytique et que ses recherches l'ont porté, presque malgré lui, vers la synthèse. Celle-ci est de loin la meilleure partie de son travail, et telle que l'on se passerait volontiers du cadre un peu étriqué qui lui avait servi de prétexte.

Cependant, ne nous en plaignons pas trop. Sachons gré, au contraire, à M. Roche, de nous avoir donné, dans quelques pages nourries, des aperçus aussi neufs que curieux sur les principaux problèmes du Midi de la France. Les chapitres centraux traitent tour à tour l'aspect politique du problème méridional (fédéralisme), l'aspect idéaliste (idée latine), l'aspect pédagogique (le dialecte à l'école) et un côté curieux et un peu inattendu des mœurs locales, la corrida.

Sur certains de ces points, tels que le problème scolaire ou l'histoire des traditions taurines, il serait difficile de trouver réunies ailleurs tant d'indications précieuses. Il faut, en outre, reconnaitre à l'auteur le mérite d'en parler avec une parfaite sérénité et avec une impartialité à toute épreuve. Cela n'est pas aussi facile que l'on serait porté à le croire, car ce sont là des questions qu'il faut savoir manier avec un certain tact. Le "problème" provençal, si problème il y a, n'est certainement pas grave; on pourrait même dire qu'il pique les susceptibilités bien plus qu'il n'intéresse des aspirations naturelles, et c'est pourquoi, en en parlant, il n'est pas toujours facile de trouver la note juste. D'un côté, on en parle avec une passion qui va au-delà du but; de l'autre côté, on en rit comme d'une galéjade et, si l'on insiste, le galéjade risque de devenir un danger public. M. Roche sait traiter son sujet avec une remarquable finesse, et la lucidité dont il fait preuve fait qu'on peut se fier, dans la plupart des cas, à ses conclusions. Hâtons-nous de dire que ces conclusions ne sont pas toujours favorables aux vœux des régionalistes les plus ardents; ce n'est pas là un parti-pris, mais le résultat de l'examen objectif des données et de l'évolution du problème.

Les comparatistes pourraient regretter l'absence d'un chapitre sur les attaches internationales du provençalisme. Il serait, en effet, aussi curieux qu'instructif de mesurer l'exacte composition des idéaux mistraliens, où se croisent les enseignements les plus divers. Sans doute M. Roche a-t-il mis en lumière l'importance, dans la formation de l'idéologie provençale, de l'idéal pan-latin; mais il conviendrait de préciser davantage ses origines, qui paraissent se confondre avec les premiers contacts de Mistral et des Félibres avec le pittoresque Bonaparte-Wyse et avec leurs confrères catalans. On a discuté, d'autre part, le "carlisme" de Mistral; mais l'examen d'ensemble des sources de la pensée politique félibréenne est encore

à faire. Il ne serait pas moins curieux d'examiner les résonances françaises du provençalisme. Celui-ci a déversé dans le courant général des lettres françaises, en dehors des petites alluvions accidentelles, un double torrent idéologique, celui de la Nouvelle Pléiade de Gasquet, sur laquelle le livre de M. Roche fournit quelques indications, et celui du maurrassisme, dont on a tant parlé, mais dont il faudrait mesurer l'évolution, à la lumière du point de départ mistralien et panlatin.

Quoi qu'il en soit, l'ouvrage de M. Roche offre du régionalisme provençal une vue d'ensemble qu'on ne saurait étudier sans profit. S'il n'explique peut-être pas assez le "pourquoi" de chaque aspect du problème, il n'en apporte pas moins des mises au point dont on devra tenir compte et qui constituent déjà une bonne introduction à la connaissance de cette idéologie poético-politique, un peu négligée et même (oserons-nous le dire?) un peu méprisée par la littérature générale.

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LA IDEA DE LA FAMA EN LA EDAD MEDIA CASTELLANA. By María Rosa Lida de Malkiel. Mexico City-Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1952. 312 p.

Mrs. Malkiel's new book is a unique combination of history of ideas, literary history, and *Motifgeschichte*. The method by which this remarkable work has come into existence is that of the interpretation of texts, the *philologische Methode*, which, in the case of Mrs. Malkiel, could also appropriately be called auscultation of texts. There are few scholars who equal her in keen perceptivity of that peculiar tone of individuality—*matiz* is one of her favorite words—that vibrates in and through the words of a given literary work.

In order to present the idea of fame in mediaeval Spanish literature in its proper historical perspective, the author goes back to the beginning of Western civilization, to Homer, and traces *la idea de la Fama* through Greek and Roman literature up to the threshold of the Middle Ages (Boethius). Before the author presents the views on fame and glory of the writers of mediaeval Castile (pp. 159-294), she unfolds in a broad canvass the conflicting attitudes of the Middle Ages in general, the antagonism between the primary negative, ascetic position of the clerical texts and that of the writers of the *esfera profana*, in which worldly fame and glory have been assigned a definite value (pp. 99-158). In this general section many authors—French, Spanish, and English—take their stand, expressing themselves either in the vernacular or in Latin.

The books has a thesis—the generally held view that the Middle Ages are in the main ascetically inclined is on the whole correct, but it is erroneous to assume that there was a total lack of mundane lust for fame and glory in the period. It seems much more probable that there was an unbroken thread, however tenuous, leading from the end of antiquity to the Renaissance. This is even true for Castile, where "la tensión de la Reconquista acentuaba el predominio de lo ascético sobre lo mundano; mermando así la esfera de influencia de la fama terrenal" (p. 9).

The value of this book rests not so much in this thesis, which is convincingly and easily proven, nor even in the presentation of the various attitudes towards fame found in ancient and mediaeval literature. Most of us have come in contact with those attitudes in our readings—often conflicting within the same man and in the same period of his life, as in Cicero—and in our own lives. *Fama* in its aspects of reputation, public recognition, publicity, and advancement in professional life is one of the mainsprings of competitive life in the United States and,

in varying degrees, anywhere in the modern Western world. In ancient times aspiration to *fama* was undoubtedly a form of man's quest for immortality, the intensity of which diminished considerably during periods of doubt about the world (late antiquity) and complete faith in immortality and reward in an afterlife (Middle Ages), without completely disappearing from the scene (epic literature and the ideals of chivalry).

We see the chief merit of Mrs. Malkiel's book in the fascinating collection of literary portraits it offers. A subject like this could have easily become a collection of *topoi* or a systematic treatise on fame and glory in historical form. Instead, the author, wary of the dangers of an exact classification that would deprive the works and their authors of their natural setting, prefers to present them in chronological order and by literary genres (see p. 232). By studying, e.g., Boethius' attitude towards fame we actually study Boethius the man and the writer. For Mrs. Malkiel always writes on the basis of a complete familiarity with a writer's works; he is never simply a repository of certain views on fame. That is why her book, particularly in the section on Castilian literature, reads like a series of portraits in cameo, finely wrought in strict adherence to the fully presented texts.

Perhaps, or rather certainly, we do not accord full justice to *La idea de la Fama* if we stop here. It would deserve a review which would amount to an anthology of literary criticism. We can only conclude with a most sincere *Tolle et lege.*

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LEBEN VND WANDEL LAZARIL VON TORMES: VND BESCHREIBUNG, WAß DERSELBE FUR VNGLÜCK VND WIDERWERTIGKEITT AUßGESTANDEN HAT. VERDEUTZSCHT 1614. Nach der Handschrift herausgegeben von Hermann Tiemann. Für die Mitglieder der Maximilian-Gesellschaft e.V. in Hamburg veröffentlicht. Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1951. 155 p.

This handsomely printed volume edited by Professor H. Tiemann, the director of the Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek of Hamburg, represents the first edition of the earliest German translation of the *Lazarillo.* This important document in the history of Hispanism in Germany is also the earliest known example of a picaresque novel in the German language. Its unknown author therefore initiates an imposing series of German adapters and naturalizers of this Spanish creation, which culminates in Grimmelshausen. We are all the more grateful to Professor Tiemann for having made this work readily available to us because the original manuscript, of which he obtained a photostat in 1934, appears since to have dropped from sight. It belonged to the Dombibliothek in Breslau.

The 100 pages of the *Lazaril* are followed by a "Nachwort" in which Professor Tiemann briefly surveys the significant features of this translation, sketches succinctly the main characteristics of the Spanish original and its place in the picaresque tradition, discusses the role of Fortune in the novel, reviews what information the manuscript offers concerning the anonymous translator (apparently a Silesian who knew Latin, Italian, and Spanish), and ends with several interesting pages on the German style of the translator, who attempted to render the tone and savor of the original. Professor Tiemann's elegant essay takes into account the previous studies on this document and on the *Barockhumanismus* into which it fits—studies by Hespelt, Petriconi, Alewyn, Fitzmaurice-Kelly, and

others, and particularly by Professor Tiemann himself, who two decades ago gave us a volume on *Das spanische Schrifttum in Deutschland* (Hamburg, 1936) and therein announced the publication (so long delayed) of this fascinating manuscript. Its opening words seem to apply, after all the years and vicissitudes, to Professor Tiemann's edition: "Ich halte darfur, es seÿ gutt, daß so seltzame merckliche sachen, die vieleicht sonst nie erhöret noch gesehen worden, vielen leuten kundt gethan werden, vnd nicht vorgessen, verborgen vndt gleichsam vorgraben liegen bleiben: Dann es kan wol sein, daß mancher der Sie lieset, ettwas finden mag, daß ihm lieb vnd angenehm seÿ; auch denen jenigen, die ihm nicht so gar tieff nachdencken, eine lust gebe..."

C. B. B.

VARIA

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ANNOUNCEMENT

Within the framework of the Sixth Triennial Congress of the International Federation for Modern Languages and Literatures, held at Oxford, September 9-16, 1954, there was organized an Association Internationale de Littérature comparée, which tentatively plans its first meeting for 1955 or 1956 in Venice, with the over-all theme, "Italy." The new association held three sessions at Oxford devoted to reports on the state of comparative literature in the different countries. These reports were given by Professors F. C. Roe (Aberdeen) for Great Britain, H. A. Hatzfeld (Washington) for the United States, M. F. Guyard (Paris) for France, K. Wais (Tübingen) for Germany, C. Pellegrini (Florence) for Italy, F. Lázaro (Salamanca) for Spain, M. Markovitch (Rennes) for Russia, G. Pistorius (Paris) for Czechoslovakia, R. Escarpit (Bordeaux) for Poland, and Miss A. Van Eupen (Utrecht) for The Netherlands.

At the end of the third session officers were elected. The organization now includes (1) a Council of Honor: Messrs. F. Baldensperger, S. de Madariaga, T. S. Eliot, G. Charlier; (2) two presidents: Jean-Marie Carré and Carlo Pellegrini; (3) a Council of four vice-presidents: H. A. Hatzfeld (Washington), Kurt Wais (Tübingen), Paul Krüger (Aarhus), F. C. Roe (Aberdeen); (4) two secretaries general: for America, Werner P. Friederich (Chapel Hill); for Europe, M. F. Guyard (c/o *Revue de Littérature comparée*, Paris); (5) a treasurer, S. Zaleski (Paris), and an assistant treasurer, Mlle E. Le Henaff (Paris); (6) a central office (bureau) consisting of five "assessors," F. Lázaro (Salamanca), H. Roddier (Lyons), B. Muntéano (Paris), J. Roos (Strasbourg), J. G. Andison (University of British Columbia).

The stress on Paris is explained by the fact that Paris is the headquarters of UNESCO.